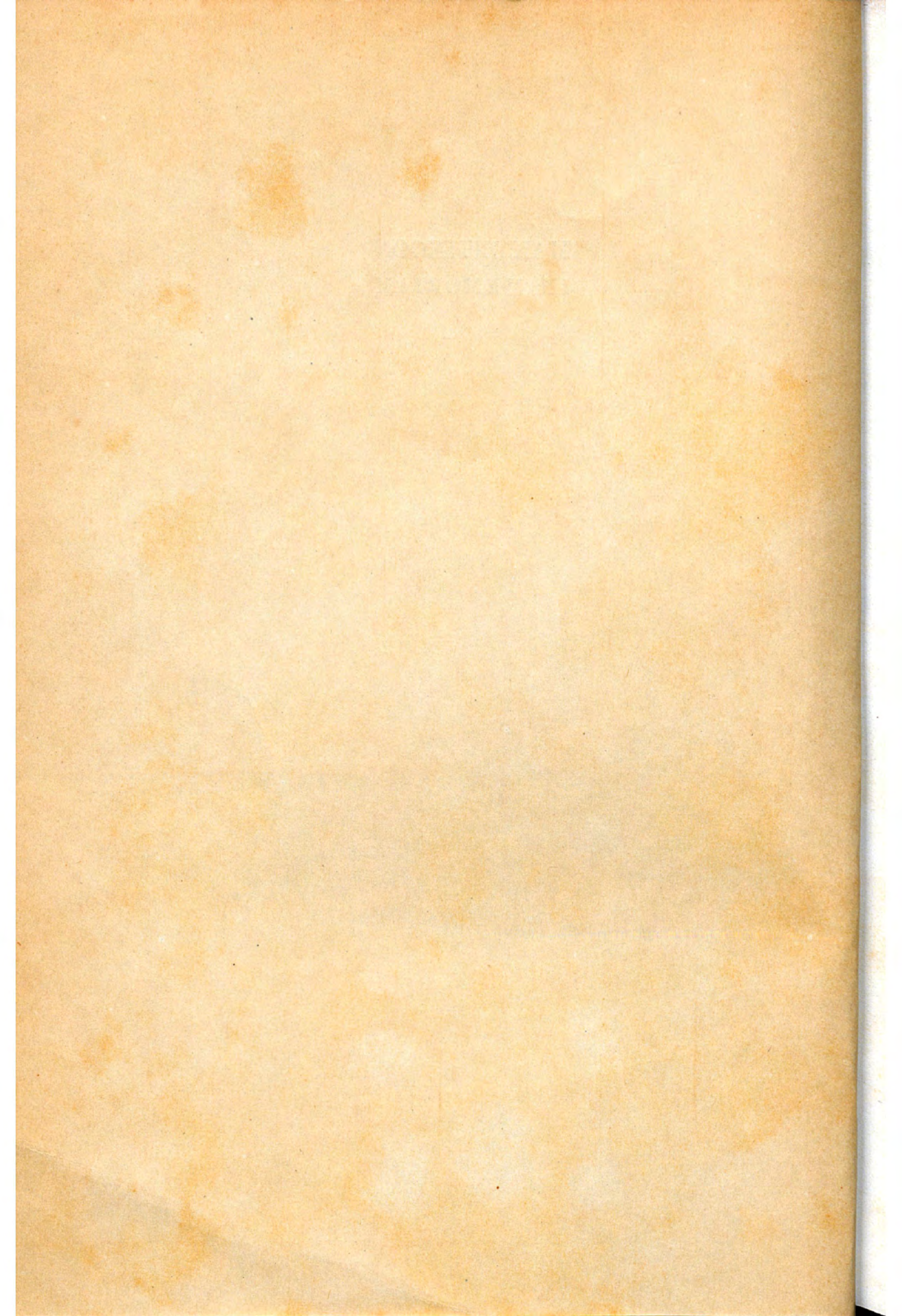
MAX EITINGON

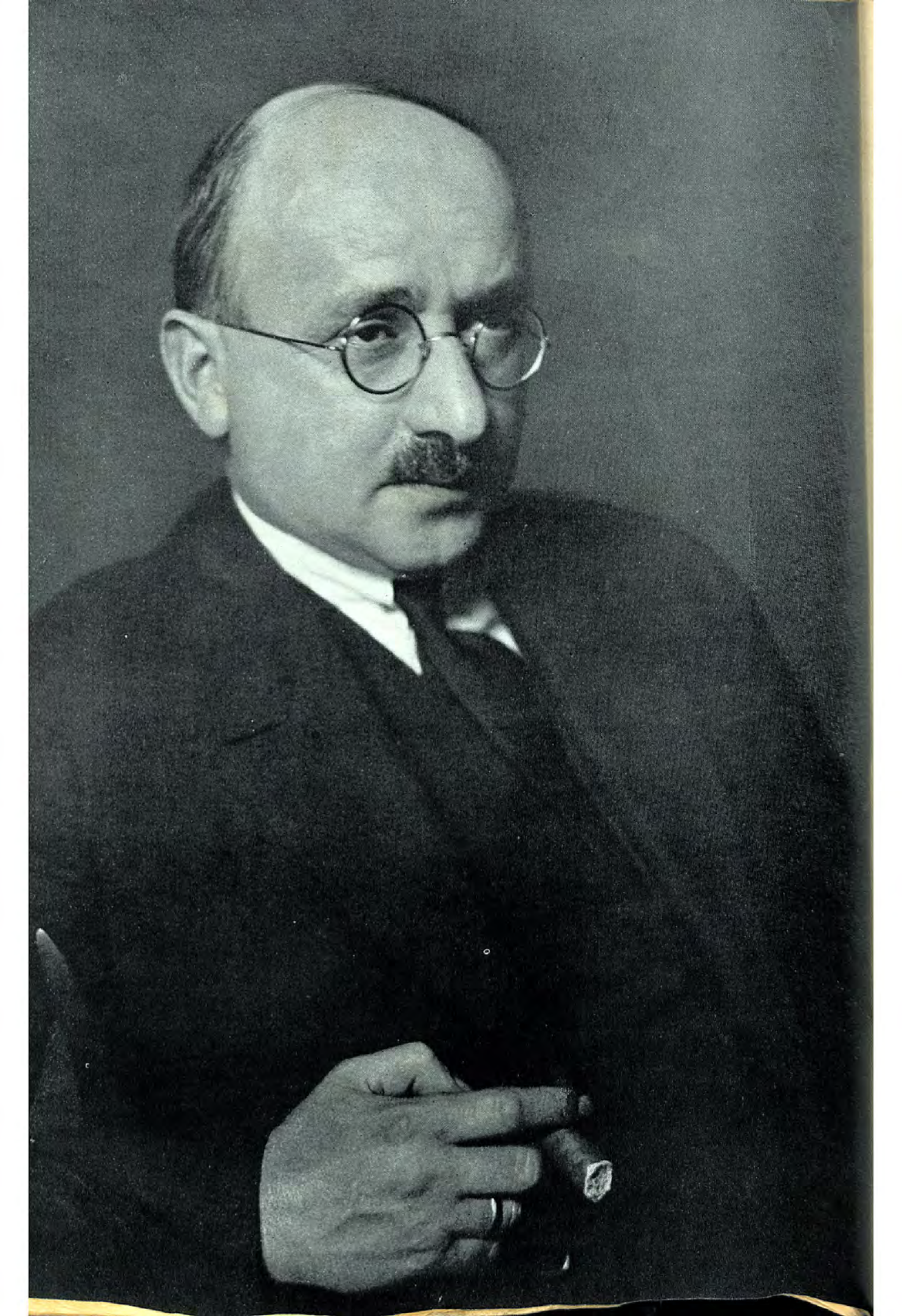
IN MEMORIAM



MAX EITINGON
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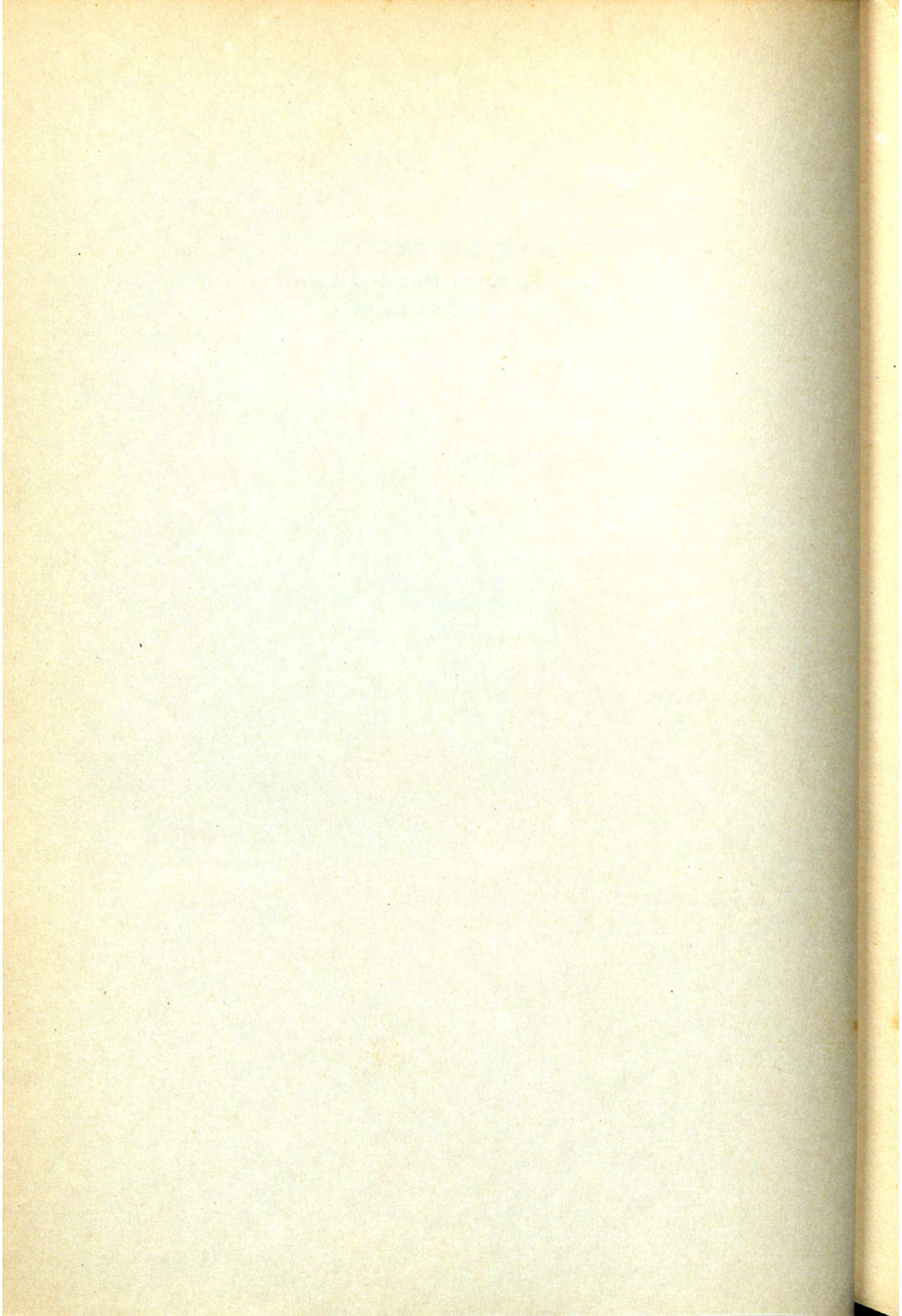
IN MEMORIAM

PUBLISHED BY ISRAEL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

MAX EITINGON

born June 26, 1881, Mohilew in Russia

died July 30, 1943, Jerusalem



Preface

Following a suggestion by Mrs. Mira Eitingon, this book is being published by friends, colleagues and students of Dr. Max Eitingon in honour of his memory and actuated by the wish to keep alive his memory and the share he had in the development and activity of the psycho-analytical movement. It embraces personal memories, memorial speeches, articles and documents referring to his work. A childhood memory by S. J. Agnon has been added which he seems to have touched upon in personal talks with Dr. Eitingon. In addition it contains scientific essays which are being published here for the first time, and which, as a last and lasting tribute, are being dedicated to our late friend.

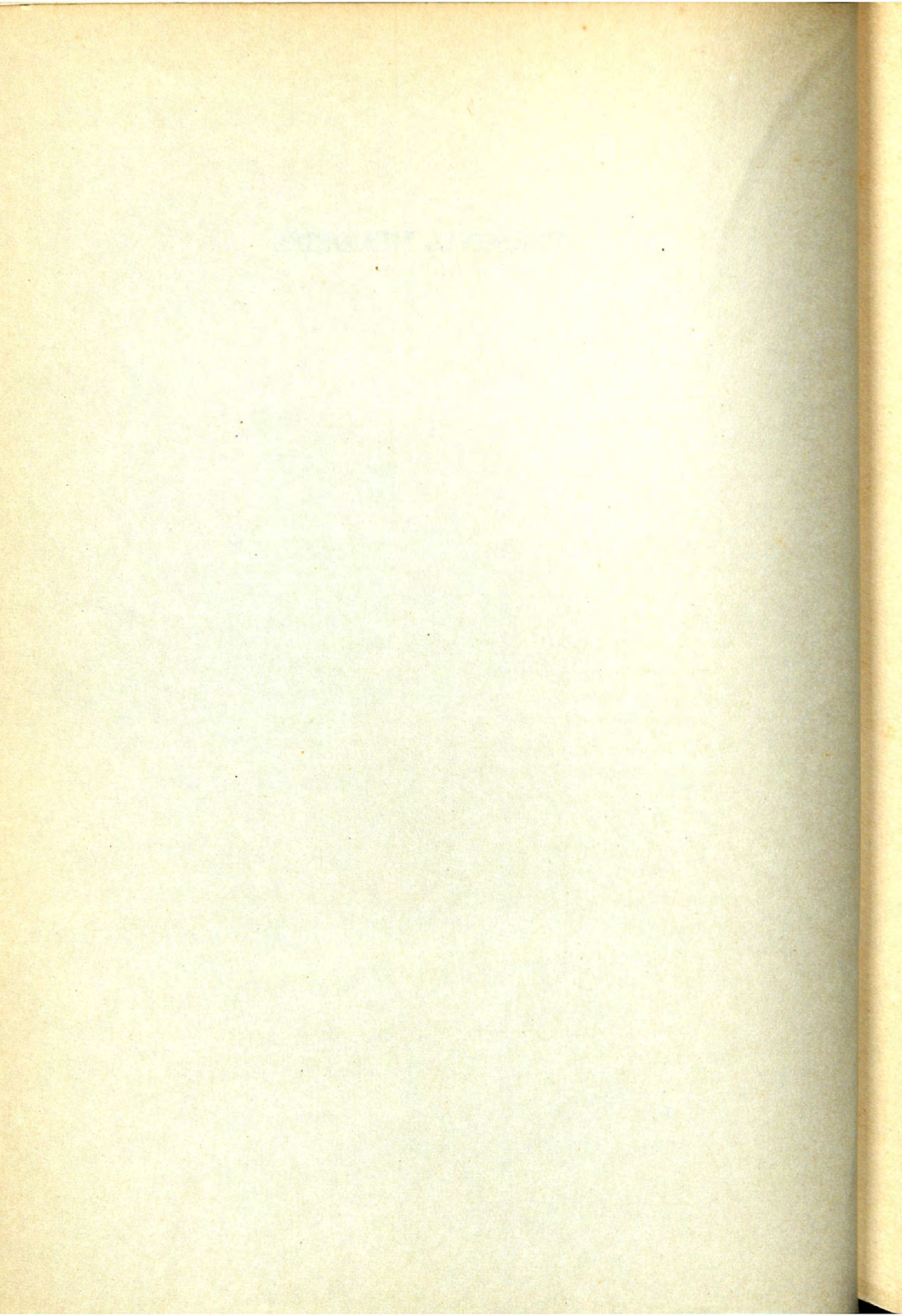
Unfortunately, Mrs. Eitingon died in 1947 before it was possible to submit to her any of these pages. Two of the contributors to this book also died before its publication: Dr. Joseph Friedjung in 1946 and Dr. Daniel K. Dreyfuss in 1949.

It should be understood that this book only gathers together material for a future biography of Max Eitingon as, for obvious reasons, it deals with his work in the last decade of his life. It is to be hoped that circumstances in this country and in the world at large will be such as to permit of the writing of such a biography within a reasonably short time.

The Editor:
DR. M. WULFF

on behalf of
Hachewrah Hapsychoanalytith b'Israel
1949

PERSONAL MEMORIES



Arnold Zweig

(vorgetragen in der Trauerfeier der Chewrah Psychoanalytith b'Eretz Israel, 28. August 1943)

Wir haben einen Monat Zeit gehabt, persoenlich mit dem Verlust fertig zu werden, der uns betraf, als die unvermutet rasche Wendung zum Schlimmen in der Krankeit unseres Freundes ihn uns entriss. Aber wir wollen, da wir heute zusammen sind, uns nicht in das Gefuehl dessen, was uns genommen worden ist, verlieren. Lassen Sie uns vielmehr auf den allgemeinen Befund der Dinge schauen, die zu diesem Tode, zu dieser Vernichtung einer kostbaren, einmaligen Existenz beitrugen, wenn nicht fuehrten. Um mit den Mitteln der Analyse zu arbeiten, brauchen wir uns nur zu sagen, dass Max Eitingon ein Exponent des Kultur-Erbes war, wie wir es im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts in voller Bluete fanden, und dass infolgedessen die Zerstoerung dieses Lebens einzuordnen ist in die Zerstoerung dieser Kultur, deren Zeugen wir sind. Ohnehin hat der uns vor vier Jahren entrissene Freund und Meister Freud, in einer seiner letzten Schriften "Das Unbehagen in der Kultur", uns den Schluessel zur Klaerung dieser Situation gegeben. Ohne dieses Unbehagen in der Kultur waere das Heranreifen des Zerstoerenden, das Anschwellen des unsaeglich Widerwaertigen nicht moeglich gewesen, welches jetzt in der Welt ausgerottet werden muss. Die Ambivalenz des Menschen drueckt sich aus im Widerspiel unserer Freundschaft mit Max Eitingon zum politischen Erleben der Gegenwart. Er war Erbe und Repraesentant des 19. Jahrhunderts. Nehmen wir ihn als Typ ueber die Person hinaus, die

wir liebten, der von den vergangenen Kulturen alles Wertvolle und Echte mit allen seinen Nerven zu fuehlen verstand und mit allen seinen Herzenskraeften zu lieben und zu foerdern. Er war der Vertreter des 19. Jahrhunderts, das durch Marx, Darwin und Freud gestempelt wird zum Jahrhundert der Analyse. Aber als Aristokrat, der Max Eitingon war, war er auch ein Sohn des 18. Jahrhunderts. Mit dessen ganzer Exponiertheit und Skepsis ausgeruestet, ging er durch eine Welt, die wie Viele glaubten, die Vorkriegssicherheit wiedergewonnen haette, auf republikanischer Basis, was garnicht stimmte. Es gab linke Bewegungen buergerlicher Demokraten, an denen auf liberale Art unser Freund Max Eitingon in freundlicher aber distanzierter Weise teilnahm. Aber wenn Sie nun sehen, wie er sich hier vor zehn Jahren die Existenz wieder aufbaute, genau so wie die, aus der ihn die Barbarei 1933 verscheuchte, so haben Sie das Opfer des Unbehagens in der Kultur in einer reinen Darstellung. Denn es ist klar, scheint mir, dass wenn die europaeische Fuehrerschicht wirklich mit derselben Inbrunst an den Werten unserer menschlichen Gesittung gehangen haette, wie Max Eitingon, sie schon 1920 oder 1925 aufmerksam geworden waere auf das, was sich in Deutschland, Japan, Italien vorbereitete, in grossen, schoepferischen Nationen, und dass man wirklich ohne diese ungeheure Masse von Zerstoerungswerkzeugen rechtzeitig imstande gewesen waere, kostbare Werte der menschlichen, geistigen und sozialen Kultur zu retten, die inzwischen in Grund und Boden gestampft worden sind. Denn wir sind nicht geneigt zu uebersehen, was die Italiener, Japaner und Deutschen als Beitraeger zur Kultur geleistet haben. Und es kann nicht geleugnet werden, dass man mit einer gewissen Wollust zusah, wie diese drei grossen Nationen zugrunde gingen, immer tiefer in den moralischen und auch materiellen Sumpf der faschistischen Erfolge. Haette man auf uns gehoert, die wir im ersten Weltkrieg gelernt hatten, worum es sich handelte, haette man auf die Zeugen gehorcht, die in den Jahren 1914—1918 den Militarismus an der Quelle studiert haben, dann waere unser Freund Max Eitingon nicht dort, wo er jetzt ist, auf dem Oelberg-Friedhof,

sondern er waere in einem Milieu geblieben, das schonsam mit ihm umgegangen waere. Er haette in der unermuedlichen Arbeit, die er leistete, nicht zu bekaempfen gehabt den Verfall seiner gesellschaftlichen Sicherung, den Verfall eines grossen, produktiven Handelshauses. Wir wissen doch, was es heisst, eine vollgueltige Arbeit 8—9 Stunden des Tages zu leisten und ausserdem noch den Kampf mit den taeglichen Widerwaertigkeiten des Alltags zu fuehren, das was Zola "die taegliche Kroete herunterschlucken" nannte. So ist unsere Zeit als Ganzes, das ist die Struktur des faschistischen Zeitalters, und wir taeten sehr gut, dies immer uns vor Augen zu halten. So hat sich auch die Existenz unseres Freundes entwickelt, seit er 1938 den ersten ernsthaften Warnungsstoss des Schicksals empfing, auf den er leider nicht hoerte, und nicht hoeren konnte.

Zu seiner Einmaligkeit gehoerte diese schweigende Zurueckstellung der persoenlichen Angelegenheiten, des persoenlichen Geschicks — das Ersetzen aller egoistischen Dinge durch einen Aufbau ueber-egoistischer Werte. Seine Beziehung zu seinen Patienten, zu seinen Schuelern, zu seinen Freunden und vor allem die Beziehung zu allem geistig Geschaffenen vertrat bei ihm alles andere. Es ersetzte ihm den Sinn fuer die Natur, aber auch den fuer seine eigene Schonung, fuer die Beziehung zu sich selbst, fuer die Einsicht, dass eine so kostbare Kraft wie die seine in der Zukunft gebraucht werden wuerde. Er war nicht neugierig auf diese Zukunft. Er wusste, dass die Zukunft in den naechsten Jahrzehnten schauerlich sein musste. "Ich bin nicht neugierig", sagte er. Wenn er neugierig gewesen waere, so haette er auf uns gehoert, mehr Ruecksicht auf sich selbst zu nehmen. Er konnte es nicht, er war ganz auf die Dauer gewendet. Alles was an schoepferischen Werten in Buecher eingegangen war, war ihm Leben und Leidenschaft. Seine Bibliothek wird ein Denkmal sein besser als jenes, das der zukuenftige Historiker unserer Tage errichten wird, wenn er von den fruchtbaren Bestrebungen berichtet, die von Europa nach Palaestina verpflanzt wurden. Max Eitingon gruendete gleich nach seinem Eintreffen, wie einst in Berlin, das Psychoanalytische Institut mit

seinen Lehrkursen, seiner Poliklinik, seiner Bibliothek, und die hebraeische Universitaet auf dem Skopus liess es sich leider entgehen, diese in unserer Zeit einzigartige Institution zu besitzen. Der Widerstand gegen Freuds Lehre, den niemand besser kannte und einschaetzte als dieser Meister und sein Juenger, siegte wie auf unserm alten Kontinent ueber den Geist und sogar ueber das nationale Prestige. Aber wie wir schon zu seinem 60. Geburtstage zu sagen Gelegenheit hatten: Er gehoerte zu den Stillen, die das tun, was notwendig ist, und die ersetzen, was durch offizielle Koerperschaften unterlassen wird zu schaffen.

Durch persoenliche Buergschaft und mit Hilfe von Zertifikaten rettete er Kollegen aus Mitteleuropa hierher und hielt gleichzeitig die Verbindung aufrecht mit all den ueber die westliche und fernoestliche Hemisphaere verstreuten Analytikern reiner, freud'scher Praegung. Als die Barbarei auch das franzoesische Zentrum, repraesentiert durch Marie Bonaparte, zu fluechten zwang, stand auf unserem alten Kontinent Palaestina, d. h. Max Eitingon als letzte Bastion der wissenschaftlichen und vorurteilslosen Vorwaertsbewegung fest. Immer mehr Faehnchen mussten von der Weltkarte verschwinden, die die Vorderseite von Max Eitingons Kartothekschrank bildete und auf welcher die von der Analyse besetzten Punkte besonders markiert waren. Jetzt, da wir ihn erst einen Monat verloren haben, hat es sich noch nicht ausgewirkt, dass in diesem Zimmer dort in Talbieh niemand mehr sitzt, der in einem schwierigen Fall der Jugend-Alijah oder eines Kibbuz angerufen werden kann, und der mit seinem Rat da ist, mit seiner Zeit, mit seiner kostbaren Lebenskraft, so als waere das die Aufgabe, um derentwillen er herkam. Es wird an uns sein, dafuer Ersatz zu schaffen, ohne die Bitterkeit zu verhehlen, die wir angesichts all der Hindernisse und Schwierigkeiten und Verluste empfinden, die sich dem Lebenswerk so selbstloser Menschen entgegenstellen. Denn wir sind nicht dazu da, an der Glorifizierung des faschistischen Zeitalters mitzuarbeiten, durch die schon so viele Gutglaeubige in die Irre gelockt worden sind. Als Soehne des neunzehnten Jahr-

hunderts sind wir zur Wahrhaftigkeit verpflichtet. Auch unser so vor der Zeit uns entrissener Freund kannte keine Verpflichtung als die zur Wahrhaftigkeit. Diese Verpflichtung zur Wahrheit und sachlichen Erkenntnis und das Bewusstsein, was wir an Eitingon verloren haben, werden uns helfen, seinen Platz und seine Funktion nicht unbesetzt zu lassen.

Seine Berufung zum Arzt empfing er schon als Knabe, am Bett seiner leidenden Mutter sitzend, die an einer Gefaesserkrankung hinsiechte, gleich der, die ihn uns entriss. Zum geistigen Menschen war er geboren, aber so jung schon empfing er den Antrieb, aus dem Mitleiden die helfende Tat zu entwickeln. So ward seines Wesens Schluesselwort: Hilfeleistung. Er war als Sohn einer wohlhabenden Familie in Russland geboren, in Deutschland erzogen, in Oesterreich Soldat gewesen. Er hatte sich in Berlin als Nervenarzt und Psychoanalytiker mit Karl Abraham, Simmel und mehreren Anderen eine allgemein anerkannte, aerztliche Bedeutung erarbeitet und kam nun hierher, um, sein Lebenswerk fortsetzend, Hilfe zu leisten. Mit den kostbaren Kraeften seiner schon geschwaechten Gesundheit begann er sofort, als Wissenschaftler am Aufbau dieses Heimes fuer die Juden mitzuarbeiten, wo seine Stammesgenossen, denen nirgends in der Welt ein Platz gegoennt war, eigenes Leben entfalten konnten. Er, Eitingon, wollte nirgendwo anders wirken. Als die Schwierigkeiten wuchsen, die ihn immer mehr beengten, warnten ihn die Freunde wieder und wieder und rieten ihm, doch endlich dem Rufe nach Amerika Folge zu leisten. Er aber entgegnete: "Liebe Freunde, ich bin eigensinnig. Und hier ist der Platz, von dem ich nur auf eine bestimmte Weise weichen werde, naemlich liegend, wenn man mich durch jene Tuer dort hinaustraegt." Das neue Palaestina wird sich eines solchen Verhaltens wert erweisen muessen. In gewisser Hinsicht hat es diese Pflicht auch schon erfuellt; dennoch wird es gut sein, wenn wir es dem palaestinensischen Alltag immer wieder ins Gedaechtnis zurueckrufen, was fuer schoepferische Existenzen sich in den Grundbau dieser neuen Niederlassung gebettet haben. Denn, um

mit einem trostvolleren Blick auf die Dinge zu schliessen: Ein solcher Mensch steckt an. Pflichterfuellung, wie die unseres Freundes Max Eitingon verbreitet rund um sich die Atmosphaere selbstloser, unermuedlicher Selbstausbildung. Die Kultur, von deren Verfall wir Zeugen sind, diese Kultur waechst wieder, und zwar dadurch, dass Tausende von Individuen kulturvoll wachsen, und nicht dadurch allein. Denn zwischen den Individuen waechst das Gruppen—Ich und auf dieses Gruppen—Ich muessen wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit richten, wenn wir versuchen werden, statt alter Truemmerhaufen etwas Besseres aufzubauen. Das wird eintreten, wenn die Waffen ruhen werden, und bevor sich die Voelker wieder in feste Formen kristallisieren. Dann wollen wir, sowohl als Einzelne wie als Gruppe uns bewusst sein, dass die Verantwortung bei uns steht, in diesem plastischen Augenblick, der dann kommen wird, einen Zustand der Dinge schaffen zu helfen, der Tausenden von Begabten Gelegenheit geben wird, sich im Laufe der Jahrzehnte so auszuwirken, wie Max Eitingon sich auswirken konnte. Und somit, wenn wir uns jetzt von ihm abwenden, den Dingen zu, die auf uns warten als Aufgabe und als Alltag, nehmen wir das Gefuehl mit, dass wir einen ausgereiften, vorbildlich zu Ende gewachsenen Kameraden bei uns hatten, einen Menschen, der sein Arbeitszimmer, seine Wohnung, seine Naechstenliebe und die Guete seines Wesens in Harmonie zu bringen das Glueck hatte und der wie kaum jemand verstand, diese Harmonie um sich zu verbreiten. Wir wussten, was wir an ihm hatten. Er wurde mit den Jahren auf gewisse Weise immer transparenter und man sah, wie dieser Mann, der so im Hintergrund der analytischen Bewegung zu bleiben wuenschte, ein unersetzlicher Faktor in ihrer bisherigen Entwicklung war, und dass sein Bild in ihrer zukuenftigen mitwachsen wird.

Dann wird anschaulich werden, mit welcher Treue und Sicherheit er als Freund Sigmund Freuds seinen Platz hier waehlte und schuf in Jerusalem, der Stadt der Traditionen. Mit seiner ganzen Intensivitaet richtete er sich darauf, das kostbare Gut der echten, unverfaelschten und unverfaelschbaren Psychoanalyse hier einzu-

pflanzen, wie er es im geistigen und im persoenlichen Verkehr mit Freud aufsammelte und entfaltete. Wenn wir, seine Freunde, Mitarbeiter oder Schueler an das Grab denken, das draussen auf dem entwaldeten Oelberg liegt, so sehen wir nicht dort das Wesentliche unseres Freundes den Verfall der Stunden ueberdauern. Vielmehr fuehlen wir, dass, solange sein Bild in uns vorwaltet, das geistige Erbe den Ewigkeitswert darstellt, der von ihm uebrig bleibt und zwar in uns. Er hatte keine Kinder und wir haben das sehr bedauert. Aber er hatte Schueler, die sein geistiges Vermaechtnis weitertragen, und er uebertrug auf uns alle einen Eindruck seiner Persoenlichkeit, der kaum je ganz verklingen wird.

Was also haben wir jetzt zu tun, was schliesst uns noch zusammen? Dass jeder an sein Tagewerk geht, jeder an sich weiterzuarbeiten hat und an der Gemeinschaft, dem hier gerade vorhandenen Teil der kommenden Geschlechter.

Daniel K. Dreyfuss

(vorgetragen in der Gedenkfeier der Chewrah Psychoanalytith b'Eretz Israel, 29. Juli 1944)

Heute, da unser Abschied von Dr. Eitingon sich zum ersten Mal jaehrt, ist zugleich ein Dezennium vergangen, seit er die Psychoanalytiker Erez Israels um sich sammelte und unsere Vereinigung gruendete. Wir hatten das grosse Glueck, uns um diesen Mann zu scharen, in dessen Wesen es tief begruendet war, zu verbinden und zu einigen. In ihm fand unsere kleine Gruppe ihren geistigen Schwerpunkt, wir juengeren Aerzte den Lehrer, unter dessen Fuehrung wir unser Koennen schulen und pruefen konnten. Max Eitingon war ein grosser Lehrer, nicht allein dank der Erfahrung eines Menschenalters, das ihn mit dem Begruender unserer Wissenschaft verband, deren Entwicklung er ja noch zum grossen Teil miterlebt hat. Weil er mehr war als nur ein erfahrener Kenner seines Faches, ein Mensch von natuerlicher Guete und grenzenloser Geduld, war er gross als Arzt und Lehrer. Dieser Persoenlichkeit und ihrem Prestige hat unsere Gruppe es zu danken, dass unsere immer noch umstrittene, junge Wissenschaft hier Wurzeln schlug. Mut und Geduld, die im Wesen das Gleiche sind, waren seine Staerke, und so war er auch stark, Anderen von seinem Mut mitzuteilen. Als wir einmal ueber die Zwiespaeltigkeit unserer Umwelt zur Psychoanalyse sprachen und ich meine Verwunderung darueber aeusserte, dass alle schiefen Urteile aus dem Europa vergangener Jahrzehnte wie Unkraut in einem Lande des Aufbaus und Fortschritts weiterwucherten, wehrte Dr. Eitingon etwas unwillig ab: "Was braucht

uns das zu kuemmern; wir gehen in *unseren Garten* und tun *unsere* Arbeit."

Er wusste immer genau, was seine Arbeit und seine Aufgabe war. Er argumentierte nicht viel, gab sich selber nur Rechenschaft und tat das, was die Zukunft von ihm verlangte. Ich brauche nicht oftgesagtes zu wiederholen, da wir alle wissen, was Dr. Eitingon fuer die Entwicklung der Psychoanalyse bedeutet. Er wusste zu organisieren und war doch viel mehr als ein Organisator. Er war ein leiser Mensch, der leise Toene liebte und es so verstand, sich mehr Gehoer zu verschaffen, als Lautheit und Betriebsamkeit dies zuwege bringen. Oft war es schwer zu unterscheiden, ob in einer Bemerkung von ihm Zustimmung oder Ablehnung enthalten war. "Taetige Passivitaet'" war ihm eine wichtige Forderung fuer das Verhalten des Arztes in der Analyse. Er liebte es anzuregen und besinnlich der weiteren Entwicklung wie ein Gaertner dem Wachstum seiner Pflanzen zuzusehen. Wie ein Gaertner wusste er auch, dass Baeume langsam wachsen und nicht vor ihrer Zeit Frucht bringen. Wie wunderbar verstand er es, sich Zeit zu lassen. Wie er die Kunst des fernen Ostens liebte, war ihm auch das Zeitgefuehl jener Menschen zu eigen. Als jener Baum, dem er die Kraft und die Liebe seiner besten Jahre gewidmet hatte, die deutsche psychoanalytische Gesellschaft und das Berliner Institut, von der europaeischen Flut entwurzelt wurde, war es wohl ein schwerer, kaum zu verwindender Schlag fuer ihn. Doch seine Ausdauer blieb ungebrochen, und er begann von neuem in unserem Lande. Wenige Jahre spaeter hoerte das Wiener Zentrum um Freud auf zu existieren, und andere europaeische Lehrstaetten folgten nach. Es kamen bange, qualvolle Monate, bis die erloesende Nachricht eintraf, dass der greise Freund und Lehrer in England eine neue Heimat gefunden hatte. Die Erinnerung daran, wie Eitingon diese Jahre der schwindenden Hoffnungen durchmessen hat, ruft uns die Worte ins Gedaechtnis, die Hugo von Hoffmannsthal fuer den oft vom Schicksal enttaeuschten, dennoch seinem Ziel unentwegt zustrebenden Grafen Zeppelin gepraegt hat:

"Die Essenz dieses Mannes ist Mut. Dann aber, durch mehr als

ein Menschenalter, die unendlich gesteigerte, gelaeuterte Form des Mutes: die Geduld. Nur der sehr mutige Mensch kannn Ausserordentliches an Geduld und Ausdauer leisten. Beide wachsen aus einer Tiefe des Gemuets. Aber es ist nichts an einem Manne von keuscherer und verborgener Natur als sein Mut. Eines Mannes Mut ist so ganz und gar seine Sache. Seine Liebe geht auf in menschliches Wesen und bedarf des Ausdrucks. Sein Mut ist eine stumme Angelegenheit zwischen ihm und dem Leben... Das "Eigentliche" des Mutes ist im Herzen der Mutigen..."

Bereits im Sommer 1938, als Dr. Eitingon die Reise zum Pariser Kongress auf sich nahm, waren die ersten Gefahrzeichen sichtbar, dass seine Gesundheit erschuettert war. Er achtete ihrer nicht; er war nie bereit, sich einer Aufgabe zu entziehen. Schon zog der Krieg herauf, und dies war die letzte Gelegenheit, von Freud, dem Zweiundachtzigjaehrigen, Abschied zu nehmen. — Als Freud im Jahre darauf starb und Ernst Jones alle, die ihm nah standen, mahnte, ihre Erinnerungen an diesen einmaligen Menschen fuer kommende Zeiten festzuhalten, hat auch Eitingon sich sofort zu dieser Pflicht bekannt. Sollen wir es bedauern, dass wir nicht auch dieses Stueck Ueberlieferung aus Freundeshand bekommen haben? Ich meine nein. Diesen Buecherfreund trieb es nie dazu, auch seine Erfahrungen und Gedanken in jener muehelos ihm zu Diensten stehenden, gepflegten, biegsamen Sprache, die seinen Schriften eigen ist, auszudruecken. Er liebte viel mehr den lebendigen Gedankenaustausch im kleinen Kreis. Auch wollte er immer bewusst im Schatten dieses Grossen, als ein Helfer und Wegbereiter bleiben. Es scheint, als ob er in seiner tiefen Bescheidenheit und Liebe zu Freud eines von den vielen zu erwartenden Erinnerungsbuechern als etwas empfand, was sein Distanzgefuehl nicht zuliess. Statt dessen hat er uns ein anderes, ebenbuertiges Denkmal, seinem innersten Wesen treu bleibend, zurueckgelassen: eine Sammlung der Briefe Freuds aus 32 Jahren der Freundschaft. Wenn dieser stattliche Band von beinahe 250 Briefen einmal, wie wir hoffen, publiziert wird, werden wir wahrscheinlich einen Teil Eitingons im Spiegel der

Sehergabe Freuds kennen lernen, der sich im Alltag zu verbergen wusste.

Als wir am 26. Juni 1941 uns anschickten, Dr. Eitingons 60. Geburtstag zu feiern, entzog ihn die Krankheit wieder der Oeffentlichkeit. So mussten die Freunde und Schueler ihm das, was sie ihm auf einer Festsitzung sagen wollten, in Form einer kleinen Jubilaeumsschrift uebermitteln. In meinem Beitrag hatte ich versucht, seinen Wahlspruch in einem alten Distichon zu erraten, in dem mir sein besonderer Sinn fuer das Massvolle und Richtige im menschlichen Handeln treffend ausgedrueckt schien. Diesen Vers wollte ich ihm ins Wappen schreiben. Beim Besuch mit einigen Kollegen zusammen, fanden wir Dr. Eitingon gerade bei dieser Lektuere. Beim Abschied kam er nochmals mit einem Einfall darauf zurueck: "Uebrigens danke ich Ihnen fuer diese huebsche Devise — es ist nur schade, dass ich schon einen Wahlspruch habe. Habe ich ihn noch niemals erwaehnt? Er lautet etwas anders". Als ich verneinte, holte er eine kleine Reproduktion herbei, die ich bisher in ihrer Unscheinbarkeit unter den Kunstwerken der Bibliothek kaum bemerkt hatte. "Hier auf diesem kleinen Bild, das ich mir vor vielen Jahren einmal aus Florenz mitgebracht habe, ist mein Wahlspruch". Es ist das Bildnis der Secco Suardi von Giovanni Batta Moroni. — Wer Secco Suardi war, konnte ich nicht ausfindig machen; vielleicht ein italienischer Edelmann. Er deutet auf eine Schale, aus der eine Flamme emporschlaegt. Dieses im Zeitalter des Humanismus auf Gemaelden haeufig zu findende Symbol des Lichts, bezeichnet, wie man mich belehrte, die Zugehoerigkeit zu gewissen Bruederschaften. Auf dem Sockel sehen wir die Inschrift, auf die Dr. Eitingon mich damals aufmerksam machte: "Et quid volo, nisi ut ardeat": Ich will nur, dass sie brenne. Obwohl wir nicht wissen, welches Feuer der italienische Meister vor beinahe vierhundert Jahren meinte, verstand ich doch — und Sie Alle mit mir — welches Feuer Dr. Eitingon im Sinne hatte. Nehmen wir diesen Wahlspruch wie einen letzten Willen des Schoepfers dieses Instituts auch zum Wahlspruch fuer uns Alle, die sein Werk in diesem Lande fortsetzen.

Es war keine Zeit zu verlieren, wollte man gewiss sein, dass die Flamme weiterbrenne. Zu Vieles war zerschlagen. Vieles war zu tun, Kranke wollten seine Hilfe, Schueler seinen Rat. Wenn die, die sich um ihn sorgten, ihm Schonung aufdraengen wollten, wurde Eitingon, was bei ihm selten war, unwillig: "Mit meiner Kraft zu sparen habe ich nie verstanden und werde es wohl auch nicht mehr lernen. Ich werde hoffentlich einmal in den Sielen sterben; das waere mir das Liebste." Gleich vielen Aerzten konnte auch er sich schwer mit dem Kranksein abfinden. Untaetig zu sein war bedrueckend, war keine Erholung fuer ihn. Ohne Ruecksicht auf sich zu nehmen suchte er immer wieder Erloesung in der Arbeit. Den Dienst an der Gegenwart, die Arbeit am lebenden Menschen hat er immer hoeher als alles andere geschaetzt. Dies war sein Garten, in dem er zu arbeiten liebte. Er wusste, dass alles Bleibende nur bleiben wird, wenn es nicht nur in Buechern, sondern in lebende Menschen eingepraegt ist.

Als ich in den ersten Julitagen des vergangenen Jahres zum letzten Male mit Dr. Eitingon sprach, bemerkte ich an ihm einen mir unbekannten Ton von Resignation. Er hatte sich in den letzten Jahren oft und gern in seiner besinnlichen Weise mit dem Tod beschaeftigt. Seine Erfahrung mit ihm oder seinen Vorboten pflegte er nachdenklich zu beschauen, wenn ihn die Krankheit allzu oft aus der Arbeit riss. Er liess es mit einem ruhigen Erstaunen auf sich wirken, wie die Begegnung mit etwas schwer Fassbarem, aehnlich wie man manchmal sich bemueht, einen fast vergessenen Traum deutlicher in die Erinnerung zurueckzurufen. Hin und wieder knuepfte er auch gern eine selbstanalytische Bemerkung daran. In diese ruhige Ergebenheit mischte sich jetzt Ungeduld. Als wieder eine neue Unpaesslichkeit, nicht anders als wir sie oft erlebt hatten, ihn ein paar Tage ans Bett gefesselt hatte und ich nach seinem Befinden fragte, sagte er mit einer missmutigen Handbewegung: "Sie wissen ja, ich habe mich immer in alles geschickt, und ich nehme es, wie es kommt. Aber ich haette schon nichts mehr dagegen, wenn es endlich einmal Ernst wuerde. Es kommt mir schon beinahe so vor, als

ob dieser Unbekannte, der mich immer wieder heimsucht, mich zum Besten haelt." Ich wandte ein, es sei noch viel zu frueh fuer solche Stimmungen, aber er wehrte ab. "Gewiss, ich haette noch Manches zu tun, aber es muss auch so gehen." Nach einem kleinen Schweigen setzte er nachdenklich hinzu: "Ich glaube, mir fehlt das, was Andere sich so gegen den Tod straeuben laesst. Ich waere es zufrieden, wenn es endlich so weit waere."

Wir erinnern uns heute wieder in Dankbarkeit, dass er uns gelehrt und vorgelebt hat, wie man eine Flamme hegt, und wir koennen es ihm nicht besser danken, als dass wir sein Werk fortsetzen in dieser Welt.

Erich Gumbel

(vorgetragen in der Gedenkfeier der Chewrah Psychoanalytith b'Eretz Israel, 29. Juli 1944)

Ein Jahr ist vergangen, seit Max Eitingon von uns geschieden ist. Beim Tode Freuds hatte er gesagt: "Es ist nicht, dass zu den vielen Menschen, die jetzt fallen, sterben, noch einer hinzukommt. Der Verlust, den wir da erlitten haben, ist ganz unermesslich, weil es sich um einen der wenigen ganz Grossen handelt. Freud gehoerte zu dem, was unsere zerrissene Zeit am meisten braucht, zu dem, was uns am meisten nottut: zu den Lehrern der Menschheit und der Menschlichkeit." Knapp vier Jahre, nachdem Freud gestorben war, mussten wir dieser Worte seines treusten Schuelers an dessen eigenem Grabe gedenken. Denn auch er gehoerte zu den Wenigen, die unsere Zeit so noetig braucht, zu den Lehrern der Menschlichkeit, der humanitas.

Sie alle tragen Eitingons Bild in sich. Ich moechte, um es wachzurufen, den Stoiker auf dem roemischen Kaiserthron, Marcus Aurelius zu Wort kommen lassen und Ihnen einen Auszug aus dem ersten Buche seiner Selbstbetrachtungen: *«τὰ εἰς αὐτόν»* vortragen:

"Von meinem Grossvater Verus die edle Gesinnung und das gelassene Wesen. — Von... meinem Vater... die Bescheidenheit und den maennlichen Sinn. — Von meinem Erzieher... die Kraft, Muehsal zu ertragen... Und die Unzugaenglichkeit gegen Verleumdung. — Von Diognetos den Zug, sich nicht mit nichtigen Dingen abzugeben. Und das Misstrauen gegenueber dem Gerede von Wundertaetern und Zauberern... Und die Gabe, ein offenes Wort vertragen zu koen-

nen. — Von Rusticus, dass ich nicht dem Ehrgeiz verfiel... zu glaenzen und nicht ueber wissenschaftliche Theorien schrieb oder Spruechlein im Munde fuehrte, die zur Tugend erwecken sollten, oder in auffallender Weise... den Wohltaeter spielte. Und auch kein Redner oder Dichter oder ein geistreicher Kopf sein wollte... Und dass ich meine Briefe schlicht und natuerlich abfasste... Auch dass ich gegenueber Menschen, die mich beleidigt oder sich sonstwie gegen mich vergangen hatten, zugaenglich und versoehnlich war... Und die Gewohnheit, genau zu lesen und sich nicht dabei zu beruhigen, wenn man den Sinn nur so ungefaehr verstanden hat. Auch nicht Leuten, die einen umschwatzen, vorschnell beizustimmen. — Von Apollonius die freie Denkungsart... Und dann sein stets gleiches Wesen... Und dann, dass ich... sah, dass ein und derselbe Mensch sehr energisch und ganz gelassen sein kann. Und dass er bei seinem Unterricht nicht ungeduldig wurde. Und dass ich in ihm einen Menschen kennen lernte, der offenbar seine Erfahrung und seine Geschicklichkeit in der Uebermittlung der wissenschaftlichen Lehren fuer den geringsten seiner persoenlichen Vorzuege hielt. Und dass ich von ihm lernte, wie man die scheinbaren Gefaelligkeiten von Freunden aufnehmen muss: ohne dass man ihretwegen seine Unabhaengigkeit aufgibt oder sie gefuehllos unbeachtet laesst. — Von Sextus das guetige Wesen... Und Wuerde ohne geziertes Wesen. Und seine glueckliche Hand in der Fuersorge fuer seine Freunde. Und seine Duldsamkeit gegenueber Laien und Menschen ohne wissenschaftliche Bildung. Und sein Geschick, sich allen Leuten gut anzupassen, so dass der Umgang mit ihm berueckender war als jede Schmeichelei, waehrend er doch gerade in solchen Augenblicken ebendenselben Menschen den groessten Respekt einfloesste... Und dass er niemals auch nur den Schein erweckte, als ob er zornig oder von einem anderen Gefuehlsausbruch ueberwaeltigt waere; dass er vielmehr zu gleicher Zeit frei von jeder Gemuetsbewegung und doch voll groesster Liebenswuerdigkeit war. Und seine Art zu loben, und zwar ohne jede Aufdringlichkeit. — Von Alexander, dem Philologen, dass er frei von Tadelsucht war; und nicht in

haemischer Weise die (Schueler) anfasste, die einen... fehlerhaften... Ausdruck gebraucht hatten, sondern auf geschickte Art eben das Wort, das haette gebraucht werden sollen, unter der Form einer Antwort oder Bestaetigung oder gemeinsamen Ueberlegung vorbrachte. — Von Alexander, dem Platoniker, die Eigenschaft, nicht oft und nicht ohne Not zu einem anderen zu sagen oder im Brief zu schreiben: "Ich habe keine Zeit", und sich nicht auf diese Weise staendig den Pflichten zu entziehen, die sich aus unsern Beziehungen zu unseren Mitmenschen ergeben. — Von Catulus die Eigenschaft, die Klagen eines Freundes nicht gering zu achten, auch fuer den Fall, dass sie unbegruendet sein sollten; vielmehr den Versuch zu machen, ihn wieder in seine gewoehnliche Seelenstimmung zurueckzubringen. Und die Art, sich ueber seine Lehrer aus innerster Ueberzeugung anerkennend zu aeussern. — Von meinem Bruder Severus den Sinn fuer Haeuslichkeit und die Liebe zur Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit. Und seine Neigung, wohlzutun und mit vollen Haenden mitzuteilen. Und seine Zuversicht und sein Vertrauen darauf, dass er von seinen Freunden geliebt wuerde; und seine Offenheit gegen diejenigen, deren Verhalten er nicht billigte. — Von Maximus die Herrschaft ueber sich selber und das zielbewusste Wesen bei all seinem Tun. Und die Heiterkeit der Seele in allen Lebenslagen. Und die Ausgeglichenheit in seinem Wesen: jene Mischung von Freundlichkeit und Wuerde. Und dass er seine Pflichten ohne Murren erfuellte. Und dass ihm alle vertrauten: bei allem, was er sagte, dass er auch wirklich so daechte, und bei allem, was er tat, dass er es ohne boese Absicht taete. Und dass er sich ueber nichts wunderte oder aus der Fassung bringen liess und in keiner Lage hastete oder zauderte oder ratlos war oder niedergeschlagen oder jemand zu Gefallen laechelte oder umgekehrt jemand gezuernt haette oder argwoehnisch gewesen waere... Und dass nie jemand geglaubt haette, von ihm uebersehen zu werden... Und seine Anmut im Umgang. — Von meinem Vater die Milde und das unerschuetterliche Beharren auf dem Standpunkt, den er nach eingehender Pruefung eingenommen hatte. Und seine

Unbestechlichkeit gegenueber scheinbaren Ehren. Und seine Liebe zur Arbeit und seine Ausdauer. Und dass er ein offenes Ohr fuer diejenigen hatte, die etwas Gemeinnuetziges vorzuschlagen hatten. Und dass er unbeirrbar einem jeden das zuteil werden liess, was ihm zukam. Ein besonders schoener Zug an ihm was es, dass er neidlos vor Leuten zuruecktrat, die ein besonderes Koennen besassen.... Und dass er nach den wuetenden Anfaellen von Kopfschmerzen gleich wieder frisch war und voll Kraft an seine gewohnten Arbeiten ging... ein Mann, der sein Augenmerk nur auf das richtet, was not tut, nicht auf den Ruhm, den sein Tun ihm einbringen koennte... Da war nichts Barsches in seinem Wesen, geschweige denn unerbittliche Haerte, nichts Hemmungsloses oder Uebertriebenes,... sondern alles war bis ins Einzelne erwogen; ohne Hast, ohne jede Unruhe, eins nach dem anderen, mit Mut und Kraft, im Einklang miteinander."

Meine Damen und Herren! Was hier der kaiserliche Philosoph aus dem zweiten Jahrhundert an den Menschen seiner Umgebung bewunderte und ihnen als Vorbild zu danken wusste, es sind dieselben Zuege, die wir an Eitingon so sehr schaetzten. Er war ja selbst ein Philosoph, einer, der Wissen und Weisheit liebte.

Er war Mitte der Zwanzig, als er auf Freud stiess. Gepackt von der Gewalt der Einsichten, die ihm dessen erste Buecher vermittelten — die "Studien ueber Hysterie" rechnete er immer auch zu dem menschlich Schoensten — und getrieben, den Genius persoenlich kennen zu lernen, fuhr er Anfang 1907 zum ersten Mal von Zuerich nach Wien. Er war tief beeindruckt von der ersten Begegnung und blieb es auch bei seinen weiteren Besuchen in den folgenden Jahren. Es war weit mehr als ein gelehriger Schueler, den Freud da gefunden hatte und nun in die neu erschlossenen Geheimnisse der menschlichen Seele, ihre Hoehen und Tiefen einfuehrte. Freud muss es bald gewusst haben, dass Eitingon nicht nur ein begeisterter, sondern auch ein wuerdiger Anhaenger der noch jungen Psychoanalyse war.

Medizin und Philosophie hatte Eitingon studiert, Koerper und

Geist, die stoffliche Grundlage des Lebens und die Spekulation um Wesen, Wert und Zusammenhaenge der Erscheinungen. Schon damals blieben seine reichen Kenntnisse nicht Einzelwissen, sondern verbanden sich mit den praktischen Erfahrungen in der Welt und wurden befruchtet von den Schaetzen der Literatur und Kunst. Und nun, unterbaut und gekroent von dem neuen, Freud verdankten Einblick in das Treiben und Getriebe der menschlichen Seele, wurde Eitingon all sein Wissen zu Erfahrung und Erlebnis. Es verlor den Charakter spezialwissenschaftlicher Aspekte. Er schmolz es um zu einer Legierung universeller Erfassung des Lebens. Er beliess ein jedes lebendig in seinem Verbande. Und das machte auch die Methode der Psychoanalyse in seinen Haenden zu einem so wunderbaren Instrument. Da war kein Sezierer am Werk, der nur Schnitte und isolierte tote Gewebsfetzen hinterliess. Im Sprachgebrauch des Deutschen umfasst auch das Wort "loesen" den Doppelsinn der Urworte. Dieweil Eitingon analysierte, liess er schon das Geloeste sich zu neuer, groesserer Einheit zusammenfuegen: zur Loesung.

So war er ein bedeutender Psychoanalytiker, ein wunderbarer Arzt, ein grosser Gelehrter, ein grossartiger Lehrer. Und doch liess er all das vermissen, was dem Mann der Profession die ihm eigene Art und Begrenzung verleiht: das Spezialistentum, das Heilen als taegliche Arbeit und Broterwerb, die Trockenheit und Weltenferne und das Belehren und Herumerziehen. Er hatte den Glauben an jede einzelne Menschenseele und an die Aufwaertsbestimmung der Menschheit; und er handelte voll und ganz aus einheitlichem Wesen, in Weisheit nicht weniger als aus Wissen. Er lebte die humanitas und damit lehrte er, half er, beschenkte und beglueckte er.

Wenn ich mir das Bild meines Lehrers Eitingon vergegenwaertige, so denke ich besonders an jene vier Zuege, die den Fremden nicht weniger als den Freund und den Hilfesuchenden ganz ebenso wie den Schueler tief beeindruckten: die Waerme des Herzens, das still teilnehmende Verstaendnis, die Achtung vor jedem anderen Menschen und die patientia.

Schon die erste Begegnung liess fuehlen, dass Eitingons natuerliche Haltung gegenueber den Menschen tiefes Wohlwollen war, dass seine liebenswuerdige Art keine leere Form war, sondern Ausdruck herzlicher Geneigtheit. Jedes weitere Zusammensein bestaetigte es: der Schueler war nicht ein Kandidat, dessen Wissen und Koennen es zu mehren galt, bis er sein Pensum erlernt haette. Aufgenommen in die ganz eigene Atmosphaere um Eitingon fand er in jenem schwer fassbaren und doch so bedeutsamen Bezirk des Allgemein-Menschlichen die schoenste Bereicherung und darueber hinaus die waermste Anteilnahme an seinem persoenlichen Geschick.

Viel Worte schienen dazu nicht noetig. Man kam, und da war Eitingon und hoerte zu: ruhig, aufmerksam, geduldig. Noch hatte er nichts gesagt, und schon spuerte man, dass er einen verstanden hatte, dass er mit einem war, dass man keinen Monolog hielt. Wie viel muss dieser Mann gewusst haben, vom Leben und von der Welt, dass er einen so gut verstand! Wie gut, wie tief muss er sich selbst gekannt haben, dass er sich bei den anderen so vortrefflich auskannte! Und dies Erfassen und Begreifen geschah nicht mit dem Kopf allein; Eitingon wusste mit dem Herzen.

So sprach er auch, mit jener unendlichen Achtung vor dem anderen, die zu seinem Schoensten gehoerte. Sie wissen alle, es gab nur *eine* Psychoanalyse fuer ihn, die Lehre Freuds, die er bei aller Weite und Elastizitaet getreu bewahrte, verwaltete und weitergab. Und dennoch, es gab keinen Leisten in Eitingons Lehrstaette, nach dem der Schueler gemodelt wurde, kein Schema, dem man sich anzupassen hatte, kein starres Bild, dessen Form uebernommen werden sollte. Ein jeder galt gerade als der, der er war. Niemals suchte Eitingon die Befriedigung des Ehrgeizes, sich in seinen Schuelern wieder zu schaffen. Ihm war es Hauptaufgabe, die selbststaendige Persoenlichkeit zu formen. Er gab sich ganz, damit ein jeder sich selbst damit bereichere und vollende. Er wirkte eindringlich mit seiner geschlossenen Persoenlichkeit und war doch so unaufdringlich, so ohne Pathos. Eitingon liebte das Leben; und

das Leben ist ja so vielfaeltig; und eine jede Manifestation davon war ihm gleich wertvoll, gleich lieb, gleich gut. So schaetzte er auch die Menschen, jeden in seiner Art, wohl gerade um seiner Eigenart willen. Diese Schaetzung erfuellte ihn mit tiefem Respekt und fuehrte wohl auch dazu, dass sich die anderen, selbst die sonst Lauten im Leben ihm mit Respekt naeherten. Mir schien es eine seltene Kunst, wie dieser hellsichtige, feinhoerige Mensch, umgeben von einer Welt, in der es an negativer Gesinnung und Gesittung nicht fehlt, immer das Gute und Wertvolle herauszufinden und sich allein daran zu halten verstand. Er pflegte und entwickelte es; alles andere schien nicht mehr zu existieren. So bejahte Eitingon, was er fand. Er liess den Langsamen langsam sein — gibt es nicht genuegend Situationen im Leben, wo es gut ist, gemach zu gehen?!—; und verwehrte dem Raschen nicht sein Tempo — auch das wuerde im rechten Moment vonnoeten sein!—. Der Theoretiker hat seine Aufgabe; — Eitingon sah keinen Grund, ihn von seinem Aspekt abzubringen—; und der Praktiker hat seinen Platz; — und sollte ihn nur gut ausfuellen! Herz und Kopf, ein jedes hat seinen Sinn; Eitingon wollte nicht der Natur ins Handwerk pfuschen. Was denn tat er als Lehrer? Dasselbe wie als Arzt: er bemuehte sich darum, dass ein jeder das, was in ihm lag, reifen liess und voll zur Entfaltung brachte. Er konnte so meisterhaft auf all die vielen Artungen und Variationen menschlichen Wesens eingehen, mitgehen, sich anpassen. Er durfte es auch unbedenklich, denn nie verlor er sich selbst dabei. Er blieb in sich gerundet, fest gegruendet, und von ruhender Mitte aus schuf er in seiner wohl ausgemessenen Art den Ausgleich, wo eines anderen Natur extrem zur Gefahr zu werden drohte. Das scheint mir eines der Geheimnisse zu sein, weshalb Eitingon mit seinen Patienten und Schuelern oft so erfolgreich war: dass er sie in zwei entgegengesetzte Richtungen leiten konnte und so genau wusste, wann in der einen und wann in der anderen. Indem er zuerst und grundsaetzlich ja zum anderen sagte, staerkte und ermutigte er; indem er bei allem Zuviel einlenkte und umkehrte, half er, ohne zu entmutigen.

Er war immer da, setzte sich selbstlos ein, konnte sich mitbegeistern und blieb unverbruechlich treu. Wer das kann, der muss geduldig sein koennen. Sie alle wissen es, in welch hohem Masse Eitingons ganzes Wesen von Geduld durchdrungen war. Geduld kommt von dulden. Das Wort ist verwandt mit dem Altgriechischen *τλῆναι*: erdulden, ausharren; verwandt auch mit dem Lateinischen tolerare, von dem Toleranz abstammt. In den romanischen Sprachen ist ebenso das Wort fuer Geduld von patior: sich etwas gefallen lassen, leiden abgeleitet. Auch die juedischen Denker des Mittelalters schufen das Wort סבלנות vom Stamm סבל: eine Last tragen, ertragen, leiden. Wer mit Ausdauer ertragen kann, der ist geduldig. Und wer sich das Leiden geschehen laesst, ohne bitter und hart zu werden, wessen Herz bei allem Leid-Erdulden gelassen und milde, gut und froehlich bleibt, wer wie Eitingon die patientia mit der Anmut, dem Charme verbindet, den werden wir immer liebend und verehrend im Gedaechtnis bewahren.

Ellen Simon

(vorgetragen in der Gedenkfeier der Chewrah Psychoanalytith b'Eretz Israel, 29. Juli 1944)

Wenn auch ich hier heute einige Worte ueber den fuer uns allzufrueh dahingegangenen Freund und Lehrer Eitingon sagen will, so moechte ich ausschliesslich ein paar persoenliche Eindruecke wiedergeben, denn es ist heute wie auch schon frueher so vieles ueber die Bedeutung Eitingons gesagt worden, dass ich dem nichts hinzufuegen kann, gehoere ich doch zu seinen letzten Schuelern und kannte ihn daher nur eine verhaeltnismaessig kurze Zeit. Ich hatte, lange bevor ich ihn kannte, von ihm gehoert und gefuehlt, mit welcher Verehrung, Liebe, Bewunderung und Hochachtung die Menschen von ihm sprachen. Ich hatte auch Photographien von ihm gesehen. Von alledem bekam ich den Eindruck, dass er ein strenger, sachlicher und Ehrfurcht einfloessender Mensch sei. Als ich dann das erste Mal mit etwas unruhigem Herzen zu ihm kam, nahm er mir, noch ehe wir ueberhaupt ein Wort gewechselt hatten, die erwartungsvolle Spannung. Er kam mir aus seinem Arbeitszimmer entgegen, reichte mir die Hand zum Gruss — als seien wir zwei alte Bekannte. Das war so menschlich und so selbstverstaendlich... In der naechsten Minute schon sass ich ihm gegenueber an seinem grossen, peinlich ordentlich gehaltenen Schreibtisch. Ich erinnere mich noch, dass er es gar nicht dazu kommen liess, dass ein gespanntes Schweigen zwischen uns entstand; dabei richtete er an mich auch nicht die konventionell aerztliche Frage: "Was kann ich fuer Sie tun", sondern bemerkte

sofort, dass ich mich heimlich in dem Zimmer umsah mit seiner gruen-beruhigenden Couch und dem schweren Sessel dahinter, einem kleinen Tischchen davor, auf dem eine noch nicht zu Ende gerauchte dicke Zigarre qualmte, und dann die wunderbar gepflegten Buecher, zwischen denen an vereinzelten Stellen Photographien und Statuetten standen. Waehrend dieser kurzen Minute des Schweigens und des sich Orientierens stand Eitingon auf und holte die anscheinend soeben verlassene Zigarre. Mit fiel sofort sein aussergewoehnlich elastischer, beweglicher, fast moechte man sagen geschmeidiger Gang auf, den ich nur als ein grosses Mass innerer Freiheit und Unabhaengigkeit verstehen konnte. Dann setzte er sich, behaglich, und ich sah ihn im Halbprofil, er betrachtete seine Zigarre, tat einen grossen Zug, und es war mir, als habe er mich mit diesem Zuge aufgefordert, mein Anliegen vorzubringen. Man sah ihm an, dass er genau zuhoerte, er war trotz seiner legeren Haltung voellig auf das, was ich ihm erzaehlte, konzentriert. Und noch immer hatte ich seine Stimme nicht gehoert. Er liess mich ruhig ausreden und erst dann stellte er an mich einige Fragen. Ich war sofort gefangen von der Art, wie er Fragen zu stellen wusste, die stets den Kern des Problemes trafen. Aber nicht das scheint mir das Wesentlichste zu sein: Klar zu fragen, ist eine Technik, die auch ein Richter erlernen kann. Es mag paradox klingen, aber in seinem Fragen lag stets etwas, was zu einer tieferen und weiteren Kenntnis fuehrte; es schien einem, als habe er mit der Frage bereits irgend einen tieferen Zusammenhang nicht nur selbst erkannt, sondern auch dem andern zu verstehen gegeben. Ich war zutiefst beeindruckt von dieser Art eines quasi ueberpersoenlichen Verstehens, das, wie ich annahm, das Ergebnis breiter Erfahrung und weisen Erkennens war.

Wenn ich heute zurueckdenke an jene erste Stunde, die ich bei Eitingon verbrachte, so ist es die Erinnerung an die Plastizitaet seiner Stimme, ich meine deren Modulationsfaehigkeit, Lebendigkeit und Farbigkeit, die mich aufhorchen liess. Aus dieser scheinbar so gedaempften Stimme liess sich einiges ueber den Menschen,

der da zurueckhaltend und ruhig sass, erraten. In dieser stets gleichbleibend ruhig freundlichen Stimme gab es doch eine Fuelle von Leben und Bewegung: in seiner Stimme lag kuenstlerisches Schaffen und Gestalten, ein sich Muehen, sich stets zurueckzuhalten und nur den andern zu verstehen, ohne dabei zu viel von sich selbst zu geben. Und damit erreichte er etwas hoechst Bemerkenswertes: trotz des erstaunlichen Einfuehlungsvermoegens schuf er damit jene wuerdevolle Distanz, die zur Basis wird und das Geheimnis enthaelt fuer die Schaffung und Erhaltung der analytischen Situation, sodass man zu ihm sprechen konnte, ohne sich je beschaemt oder bedrueckt zu fuehlen. Unendlich viel Beruhigendes ging aus von seiner Stimme, so viel verstehende Guete, doch nie verfiel er in den Fehler, um des Trostes willen gutmuetig zu sein. Im Laufe der Jahre habe ich dann in diesem scheinbaren Ebenmass noch etwas anderes bewundern gelernt: Eitingons absolute Unbestechlichkeit: einer Einsicht, die er einmal fuer wahr erkannte, wuerde er auch nicht einen Zoll geopfert haben, so schwer es auch fuer ihn selbst oder seinen Patienten gewesen sein mag. Und da er Wahrheiten und insbesondere den Wahrheitsgehalt der Psychoanalyse bereits in jungen Jahren erkannt und erfasst hatte, und die Wahrhaftigkeit ihm hoechstes menschliches Gut war, so blieb er ihr — ganz natuerlicherweise — treu. Er brauchte deshalb auch kein Eiferer, kein Verfechter der Lehren Freud's zu werden. Er erkannte sie, und so wurden sie Teil seiner eigenen Persoenlichkeit. Er brauchte sie nicht zu verfechten und keine Juenger zu werben, denn da er sie tiefinnerlich fuer wahr und "So-Seiend" erkannt hatte, wusste er, dass sie auch ohne jede falsche Anpreisung sich den Weg bahnen werden, bis sie schliesslich zum Allgemeingut menschlicher Kultur geworden sind.

Wie keiner verstand es Eitingon, seine Patienten und Schueler in die Psychoanalyse einzufuehren. In seiner Arbeit wurde er schoepferisch gestaltend. Er handhabte die Technik der Psychoanalyse mit virtuosenhafter Sicherheit. Ich glaube dem, der dies nicht selbst erlebt hat, ist es schwer, ein Bild in Worten dessen zu geben,

was er meisterhaft benutzte: ich meine die psychoanalytische Technik, dies zugleich allerempfindlichste und dabei allermaechtigste Instrument. Ich fragte ihn einmal, als er mich bereits tief in die Geheimnisse des "unterirdischen Seelenlebens" eingefuehrt hatte, wie er das eigentlich gemacht hatte, woraufhin er in seiner so ueberaus einfachen und bescheidenen Art sagte: "Wir haben eben irgendwo den Anschluss gefunden". So langsam und scheinbar unsichtbar dieser Prozess auch vor sich ging, wurde es doch zum aufschlussreichen Erlebnis, wenn man einmal unterwegs halt machte und versuchte, ueber die Mauer des Undurchdringbaren hinwegzuschauen. Oder um einen Vergleich von Eitingon selbst zu benutzen: Man steigt hinab in eine tiefe dunkle Hoehle, in der man eine Kerze entzuendet. Anfangs wird man nichts sehen, sich nicht orientieren, allmaehlich wird man heller beleuchtete Partien von noch beschatteten unterscheiden koennen. Und ganz allmaehlich gewoehnt man sich an das Sehen im Dunkel, ein Erlebnis, keinem anderen vergleichbar: es ist, als zerreisse ein Nebel vor dem inneren Auge. Das Bild aber, das da allmaehlich an Deutlichkeit zunimmt, wird zur leibhaften Erscheinung, die Schatten des Vergangenen beginnen sich zu bewegen und erwachen zu neuem Leben. Und dies in den Tiefen wiedererwachende Leben pocht mit zunehmender Kraft an das Gegenwartsbewusstsein und verschmilzt schliesslich mit diesem zu einem einheitlichen Ganzen. Es ist dies das Erlebnis, das Eitingon auch mir vermittelte.

Fuer Eitingons grosse menschliche und auch seine beruflichen Leistungen koennen wir ihm danken, indem wir sowohl unsere persoenlichen Erinnerungen an ihn wie seine allgemeinen Leistungen auf dem Gebiete der Psychoanalyse uns stets lebendig vor Augen halten.

Adolf Lantz

Persönliche Erinnerungen

I. KASCHAU 1915/16

Meine erste Begegnung mit Doktor Max Eitingon war in verschiedener Hinsicht charakteristisch genug fuer ihn, um persoenliche Erinnerungen damit zu beginnen.

Im Spaetherbst 1915 wartete ich als "Gemeiner" mit anderen Soldaten des oesterreichisch-ungarischen Voelkergemisches im K. & K. Garnisons-Spital in Kaschau (Kosice), um dem Oberstabsarzt zur endgueltigen "Untersuchung meiner Felddienst-Tauglichkeit" vorgefuehrt zu werden. Ich hatte seelische und koerperliche Strapazen hinter mir, wenn auch nicht in der Front, steckte in einer alten, geflickten Uniform, war seit Tagen unrasiert, konnte kein Wort ungarisch, um mich mit meiner Umgebung zu unterhalten, kam mir recht verlassen und hilflos vor, und erkannte mich bei einem Blick in den Spiegel kaum selbst wieder.

Ein Oberarzt, den weissen Kittel ueber der Uniform, ein Stethoskop in der Hand, durchquerte rasch das Zimmer. Im Vorbeigehen fiel sein Blick auf mich. Er stutzte, blieb stehen und sah mich durch seine goldgeraenderten Brillenglaeser einen Moment eindringlich an: "Kommen Sie vielleicht aus Berlin?" Ich bejahte. "Sind Sie nicht Theaterdirektor Lantz?" Ich bejahte. "Eitingon ist mein Name. Ich habe einmal Ihre Photographie gesehen, ich glaube im "Weltspiegel" des "Berliner Tageblatt". Dadurch habe ich Sie erkannt." — Ich war verbluefft, denn das Photo war vor

mehr als drei Jahren erschienen. — Eitingon lud mich ein, ihn zum Abendessen in seiner Privatwohnung zu besuchen.

Er trug Zivilkleider, als er mich empfing. Guete und Hilfsbereitschaft strahlten von ihm aus. Seine erste Frage galt meinem Schicksal vor der Ueberpruefungs-Kommission. Ich war fuer "Felddienstuntauglich, nur zu Kanzleidiensten verwendungsfaehig" erklaert worden. Spontan war Eitingon bereit, so weit er konnte zu helfen, dass ich in Kaschau bliebe. Elektrisches Licht erhellte das geraeumige, teppichbelegte Zimmer, ein buergerlich gut gedeckter Tisch stand fuer das Abendbrot bereit; ich war rasiert, ich vergass meine geflickte Uniform. Ich war ploetzlich wieder ein Mensch in kultivierter Umgebung geworden und lebte auf. Und dies alles geschah nur, weil Eitingon den ihm persoenlich vorher Unbekannten nach einer Photographie blitzartig rekognosziert hatte, die ihm vor Jahren zu Gesicht gekommen war.

Bis der Zapfenstreich mich in die nahe Kaserne auf den Strohsack zurueckrief, plauderten wir angeregt. Den verblueffendsten Eindruck machte wieder Eitingons Gedaechtniskraft auf mich: er hatte nicht nur die meisten Werke der grossen Dichter der Weltliteratur gelesen, er konnte auch muehelos wesentliche Stellen aus ihnen zitieren. Ich hielt mich fuer einen ueberdurchschnittlichen Kenner der Werke von August Strindberg, dessen Dramen ich auf meiner Buehne systematisch propagiert hatte. Aber ich gestand mir bald selbst, dass Eitingon eine weit tiefere Einsicht in Strindbergs Lebenswerk hatte als ich, eine Einsicht, die mir neue psychologische und philosophische Gesichtspunkte und Ausblicke gab. Er belegte, was er vorbrachte, mit fast woertlichen Zitaten.

Als ich das Haus verliess, spuerte ich stark, dass die Beziehung, die ich heute gewonnen hatte, eine geistige Bereicherung bedeutete, einen Weg zur Weiterentwicklung.

Ich blieb in Kaschau. Nach einigen Monaten wurde Eitingon nach Miskolc versetzt, in die "Psychiatrische Abteilung des Garnisons-Spitals". — Eines Tages wurde ich als sein "Schreiber" nach Miskolc abkommandiert. Eitingon hatte mich an seine Seite geholt.

II. MISKOLC 1916/18

Die sogenannte "Versperrte Abteilung", in der die Kranken "zur Beobachtung ihres Geisteszustandes" als Zwischenstation eingeliefert wurden, war in einem abseits gelegenen Gebaeude einer Kaserne in Miskolc untergebracht. Ein Stabsarzt, Professor Straeussler aus Prag, war der Leiter, Dr. Eitingon der Oberarzt. Ein Assistenzarzt war den Beiden zugeteilt. Die Abteilung war sehr gut geleitet, von peinlicher Sauberkeit. Ein kleiner Garten war durch hohe Mauern von der Aussenwelt abgetrennt. Das Waerterpersonal war mit dem Umgang mit Geisteskranken und ihrer Pflege gut vertraut. Als "Schreiber" Dr. Eitingons hatte ich den taeglichen Morgenrundgang der Aerzte unter Fuehrung des Stabsarztes von Bett zu Bett, von Krankem zu Krankem mitzumachen, wobei das Material der Beobachtungen gesammelt und dann in das Journal jedes einzelnen eingetragen werden musste. Zum Zweck der Anamnese wurden zumindest am Anfang und am Ende der Beobachtungsperiode jeder einem Examen unterzogen. Seine Antworten auf Fragen des Arztes, sein koerperlicher Zustand, das Benehmen, das er an den Tag legte, wurden fixiert. Jeder Fall bekam bei seiner Entlassung ein Gutachten mit auf den Weg, der entweder mit der "Entlassung aus dem Heeresdienst" endete und in Belassung von haeuslicher Pflege oder in einer Irrenanstalt. Dieses Schriftstueck umfasste viele Seiten, wurde mir von Dr. Eitingon in die Feder diktiert, blieb im Journal und musste nochmals fuer das Regiment ausgefertigt werden. Alles geschah handschriftlich. Die Anamnesen legten das beobachtete Krankheitsbild detailliert fest, aus ihnen baute sich der Befund und das endgueltige Gutachten auf. Eine ungeheuere Arbeit fuer die Aerzte und ihre Schreiber war zu leisten; die Anstalt war immer voll belegt und hatte circa 150 Betten.

Ein Gutachten von Dr. Eitingon war ein Musterbeispiel von Genauigkeit und Durchdachtheit. Es brachte die bewusste Verantwortlichkeit des Arztes aufs Hoechste zum Ausdruck. Oft diktierte

mir Eitingon bis tief in die Nacht hinein. Bis zum letzten Tag meines zweijaehrigen Dienstes an seiner Seite blieb mein ernstes Interesse an seine Arbeit gefesselt. Immer wieder war ich von Inhalt und Aufbau seiner Gutachten, von der tiefgruendigen Art, aus den Anamnesen die medizinischen Resultate zu ziehen, wie von kleinen Kunstwerken hingerissen.

Da Eitingon auf Grund seiner vielen Sprachkenntnisse — er konnte in 13 Sprachen examinieren — einen ausgezeichneten Kontakt mit den Kranken hatte, war die Gruendlichkeit seiner Anamnesen nicht zu ueberbieten. Ob noch die Journale in einem Archiv der Garnison Miskolc liegen? Studenten koennten viel aus Eitingons Gutachten lernen.

Natuerlich hatte ich Gelegenheit genug zu sehen, wie Eitingons Kollegen, das Kanzlei-Personal, die Waerter und die Kranken zu ihm standen. Seine Beliebtheit war grenzenlos; man verehrte ihn. Professor Straeussler, selbst ein angesehener Psychiater aelterer Schule, behandelte den Schueler von Sigmund Freud mit ausgesuchtem Respekt. Der militaerisch hoehere Rang wurde nie hervorgekehrt, dafuer privater Verkehr gepflegt.

Dr. Eitingon hat in Miskolc nicht etwa nur die Kranken unter Beobachtung gehabt, nicht etwa lediglich Gutachten ausgearbeitet; er hat auch behandelt und geheilt. Ueber seine aerztliche Kunst, von deren Resultaten ich bewundernder Zeuge war, werden seine Fachkollegen zu sprechen haben. Ich will hier nur noch ueber ein Gerichtsgutachten einige Mitteilungen festlegen, das mir von ganz besonders hoher Art erschien.

Hinter den vergitterten Fenstern in einem Teil des oberen Stockwerks der "Versperrten Abteilung" befand sich noch eine andere, fuer mich anfangs besonders skurrile, die abermals von der Aussenwelt mit einem schweren Schloss abgeriegelt war. Hinter den Riegeln sassen Moerder oder gewalttaetiger Verbrechen Verdaechtigte, die das K. und K. Divisionsgericht in Kaschau auf ihren Geisteszustand geprueft und begutachtet wissen wollte. Aus diesem Miniaturgefaengnis wurde eines Tages ein junger russischer Kriegs-

gefangener L. unter strenger Bewachung zum ersten Examen vor Eitingon gefuehrt. Er hatte einen sanften Gesichtsausdruck und vertraeumte, blaue Augen, ein Bauernbursche, dem man weder aggressive Raufbold—noch gar Mordinstinkte auf den ersten Anblick zugetraut haette. Das Protokoll des Divisionsgerichtes gab an, dass L. als russischer Kriegsgefangener auf einem ungarischen Bauerngehoeft als Landarbeiter untergebracht war, das von einer Baeuerin bewirtschaftet wurde, deren Mann im Felde stand. Eines Tages habe L. die Baeuerin mit einer Axt getoetet. Er habe sich selbst der Behoerde gestellt, gebe keine Gruende fuer seine Tat an, sei auffallend wortkarg und schweigsam, auch seinen Zellengenossen gegenueber, lege ein unzugaengliches Wesen an den Tag, verhalte sich durchaus ruhig, aber sonderlich. Das Divisionsgericht bat um Beobachtung seines Geisteszustandes. Eitingon bekam im Verlauf des ersten Examens schon sichtlich einigen Kontakt mit ihm, da er fliessend russisch mit ihm sprach, konnte aber trotzdem nichts von den Motiven seiner Tat herausholen. Koerperlich war L. gesund, alle Reflexe waren ungestoert, psychisch war er offenkundig gehemmt, vielleicht auch durch die Tat und Haft in einem neurotischen Zustand, den Eitingon erst durch die Zeit abklingen lassen wollte. L. verblieb Monate unter Beobachtung und vielen Examinierungen, bei denen Eitingon vermied, ihn mit Fragen zu draengen oder zu quaelen. Er dosierte sie geduldig und systematisch. Er wollte auf den Impuls der Tat kommen. Hatte er den Mord aus Eifersucht begangen oder weil er keine Gegenliebe fand? Oder aus habsuechtigen Gruenden? Oder war es ein Totschlag im Affekt waehrend eines Streites? Oder war L. ein kranker Mensch mit verminderter geistiger und seelischer Kontrolle ueber sich selbst?

Aber das Motiv seiner Tat war ein anderes, und Eitingons muehevolle Analyse zog es an das Tageslicht. In primitiver Formulierung enthuellte L. nach und nach, wie ueberlegt und bewusst der Entschluss zur Tat in ihm gereift war, waehrend das Motiv aus dem Aufbau seiner seelischen Konstitution sprang. L. sagte, die Baeuerin habe ihm nachgestellt und ihn verfuehrt. Sein Gewissen

draengte ihm immer staerker und unentrinnbarer auf, wie schlecht das Weib gegen seinen Mann in der Front handelte, und wie sie ihn selbst dazu gebracht hatte, schlecht gegen seine junge Frau daheim zu sein, von der er ein Kind hatte. Die Baeuerin bemerkte seinen Kummer, er wollte nichts mehr von ihr wissen. Auf ihr Draengen hielt er ihr ihre und seine Schlechtigkeit vor. Da lachte sie ihn aus, — und er erlag ihr wieder. Aus Scham und Wut ueber sie und sich erschlug er sie. Nun werde er mit Recht seine Schuld mit seinem Leben buessen. Er empfand aber nicht als Schuld, sie getoetet zu haben; das war nur die notwendige Bestrafung fuer ihre Schlechtigkeit.

Das Gutachten Eitingons umfasste viele Seiten. Existierte eine Abschrift, waere sie ein Dokument, wohl wert in einem Buch "In Memoriam Doktor Eitingon" aufbewahrt zu sein. Es war das Meisterstueck eines Gutachtens. Es kam zu dem Resultat, dass hier eine Arzt ueberlegten Totschlags, nicht ueberlegter Mord stattgefunden hatte. Die psychologische Begruendung aus dem Wesen des russischen Menschen war so lueckenlos ueberzeugend gefuehrt, dass L., wie ich nachher hoerte, vom Divisionsgericht tatsaechlich nur wegen Totschlags zu langer Kerkerstrafe, nicht aber zum Tode durch den Strang verurteilt wurde.

III. BERLIN 1919—1934

Meine Erinnerungs-Skizze an Dr. Eitingon im Ersten Weltkrieg will ich noch ein wenig mit dem Bericht einer besonderen Stunde in der Villa in Dahlem erweitern und mit deren Erlebnis abschliessen.

Im Spaetwinter 1930 folgte Luigi Pirandello einer Einladung in das Haus Eitingon in Dahlem zum Abendessen. Nur meine Frau und ich waren noch dazu gebeten.

Nach dem Abendbrot zog sich Eitingon mit Pirandello und mir in die Bibliothek zurueck. Pirandello ging die Regale ab. Die uebersichtliche Aufstellung der Buecher vermittelte ihm unschwer ein

Bild von den vielseitigen Interessen des Besitzers, Interessen, die durch eine bestimmte Grundlinie mit einander verbunden waren. Er erkannte von Regal zu Regal immer klarer den inneren Aufbau der kostbaren und koestlichen Kollektionen. Er verstand den inneren Zusammenhang, verstand, warum Religionsphilosophie und Philosophie einen wesentlichen Platz einnahmen, warum speziell ostasiatische Kunst Eitingon fesselte, die Werke der Meister der Malerei, besonders von Rembrandt bis Kandinsky, griffbereit lagen, verstand nicht minder, warum in der Fuelle der Klassiker und Schoenen Literatur der Welt gerade Rainer Maria Rilke in vielen, luxurioes gebundenen Ausgaben stand. Er bemerkte wohl, dass die Sammlung ueber Alte Medizin die vielen Reihen der Buecher ueber Moderne Medizin und Psychiatrie fundierten.

"Auch Ihnen ist der Geist der Gott aller Goetter", sagte der philosophische Dichter der "Sechs Personen suchen einen Autor". "Nie, nie kann der Geist, der erst jeder Form Leben und Inhalt gibt, verloren gehen! Nur die Form verschwindet und ist vergaenglich. Und wenn Naturgewalten oder Zerstoerungswut heidnischer Tyrannen und Vandalen die Formen vernichtet haben, in denen der Geist lebte, entschwebte der Grosse Unsichtbare, aber er blieb latent. Es ist eine uralte Erkenntnis und Wahrheit ueber das Mysterium der Schoepfung".

"Ich erinnere mich an einen Ausspruch von Ihnen", sagte Eitingon langsam und bedaechtig: "Das kuenstlerische Mysterium ist das gleiche wie das Mysterium der natuerlichen Geburt".

"So ist es... ist es nicht so? Welcher Kuenstler kann sagen, wie und wozu eine Gestalt in seiner Phantasie entstanden ist? Eine Frau, die liebt, kann den Wunsch haben, Mutter zu werden, aber der inbruenstigste Wunsch genuegt nicht".

Eitingon nickte und ermunterte Pirandello mit einem einzigen Satz, weiter zu sprechen, indem er sagte: "Eines Tages fuehlt sie sich Mutter, ohne jedes bestimmte Anzeichen fuer den Eintritt des Zustandes".

"Ebenso nimmt ein Kuenstler, einfach durch sein Leben selbst,

viele Keime des Lebens in sich auf und kann niemals sagen, wie und wozu einer dieser Lebenskeime in einem bestimmten Augenblick sich in seiner Phantasie festgesetzt hat, um in einer, ueber dem unbestaendigen Alltagsdasein gelegenen, hoeheren Lebensschicht zu einem Lebendigen Geschoepf zu werden. Ich kann nur sagen: ohne sie bewusst gesucht zu haben, sieht der Kuenstler seine Geschoepfe lebendig vor sich, lebendig zum Greifen, so leibhaftig, dass er fast ihr Atmen hoert."

Wieder warf Eitingon einen Satz ein, durch den er Pirandello zu weiteren Ausfuehrungen unaufdringlich stimulieren konnte: "Sie meinen, lebendig geboren wie diese Geschoepfe sind, wollen sie auch leben und erwarten von Ihnen die Aufnahme in die Welt der Kunst."

"So scheint mir der Vorgang zu sein. Die Gestalten erwarten, dass ich aus ihren Persoenlichkeiten, Empfindungen und Schicksalen einen Roman, ein Drama oder zumindest eine Novelle schaffe."

"Aber Ihnen genuegt nicht die reine Lust an der Darstellung, ich meine, eine freud- oder leidvolle Einzelbegebenheit zu erzaehlen aus reiner Lust am Erzaehlen, eine Landschaft zu schildern aus reiner Lust an der Schilderung?", bemerkte jetzt Eitingon.

"Gewiss nicht! Es gibt Schriftsteller, und zwar nicht wenige, die diese Lust empfinden und, von ihr befriedigt, nichts weiter suchen. Das sind Schriftsteller mit mehr historischer Einstellung. Es gibt aber andere, die ueber jene Lust hinaus, ein tieferes, geistiges Beduerfnis verspueren, aus dem heraus sie keinerlei Gestalten, Vorgaenge, Landschaften zulassen, die nicht sozusagen von einem besonderen Lebenssinn gesaettigt sind, der ihnen einen allgemeinen Wert verleiht."

"Das sind die Dichter mit mehr philosophischer Einstellung," konstatierte Eitingon, "und zu denen gehoeren Sie."

"Ich habe das Unglueck, zu diesen letzten zu gehoeren", gestand Pirandello mit schmerzlicher Ironie.

"Unglueck? Gehoert denn Philosophie nicht auch zu den Kuensten?"

"In unserer Zeit", sagte Pirandello bitter, "herrscht die Ansicht vor, dass Kunst, Philosophie, Wissenschaft und Religion vier verschiedene Wege sind, um durch sie in hoehere Regionen erhoben zu werden. Das ist umso absurder", fuhr er mit suedlaendischem Temperament in der Stimme fort, "als ein Rueckblick in das Alte Indien, das Alte Aegypten und spaeter in das Alte Griechenland klar stellt, dass nicht nur diese vier Wege vor Jahrtausenden in einen einzigen zusammengefasst waren, sondern auch die Kunst der Alchemie, Astronomie und Astrologie."

"Unter der Aegide der Hohen Priesterschaft", bestaetigte Eitingon. "Die Resultate waren erstaunlich genug."

"Die Resultate waren die Erkenntnisse der sogenannten "Okkulten Gesetze", die zu einem geringen Teil erst jetzt von der "Exakten Wissenschaft" wieder entdeckt und somit bestaetigt werden, auf anderen Wegen als damals. Aber es ist schon alles dagewesen."

Beide schwiegen eine Weile. Dann sagte Eitingon ruhig: "Die exakte Wissenschaft bedient sich nicht der metaphysischen Instrumente."

"Die Instrumente, die sie heute hat, so bewundernswert sie technisch an und fuer sich sind, werden nicht auf den Grund der Dinge fuehren. Ich bezweifle, dass es ueberhaupt auf dem exakten Weg je moeglich sein kann. Wozu denn Instrumente?"

"Auch Sie bedienen sich eines Instruments, Ihres Stils naemlich. Sie haben fuer Ihre Dramen eine neue Art von Rhetorik geschaffen, die das fruehere italienische Drama nicht kannte, eine Rhetorik, die aus Metaphysischem und Psychoanalytischem ihre Kraft zieht."

"Und aus dem Sizilianischen! Ich bin Sizilianer, und das sizilianische Element ist in meinem Stil. Meine Vorliebe fuer das metaphysische Problem wird mir genug als Schwaeche angekreidet. Ich bin dafuer gruendlich ausgepfiffen und ausskandaliert worden..."

"...mit Welterfolg!" warf Eitingon schmunzelnd ein.

Pirandello lachte skurril, sein Fuss schlug nervoes rhythmisch auf den Teppich.

Stille trat ein. Eitingon sass in seinem Stuhl, das Bild innerer Ruhe und Ausgeglichenheit selbst; in Pirandello vibrierte alles bis in die Fusspitze.

Eitingons Gesicht hatte den Ausdruck des Forschers. Ganz unbetont richtete er jetzt eine Frage an Pirandello: "Ihre Vorliebe fuer das metaphysische Problem... ist sie bewusst in den Vordergrund gerueckt?"

Pirandello sah ihn freundlich an: "Sie wollen bis zum Kern eines Menschen vordringen, ich verstehe... Ich bin Katholik. Ich weiss nicht, ob Ihnen bekannt ist, dass meine Frau nach gluecklichsten Jahren unserer Ehe von geistiger Umnachtung befallen wurde. Zugleich mit meiner Ehe waren auch meine pekuniaeren Verhaeltnisse zusammengebrochen. Ich war stets in meinen Ansichten ueber die Ehe paepstlicher als der Papst und bin es geblieben. Nun, damals offenbarte sich mir die Tragoedie des menschlichen Daseins mit elementarer Wucht. Ich war in einem Zustand letzter Verzweiflung. Das war die Stunde, in der ich lernte, mit Gott zu sprechen. Es war wie eine blitzartige Erleuchtung im Bruchteil einer Sekunde: das ganze Leben ist ein Gespraech mit Gott! Das war der Augenblick der Entscheidung, der in jedem Menschenleben ein Mal eintritt. Wer ihn versaeumt, krepiert wie ein Tier. Seit jener Stunde ist es mir zuweilen, als stellte sich mein Ich ausserhalb meines Koerpers. Dann weiss ich ganz tief, dass ich mich an einer Lungenentzuendung aufloesen werde — und dass Pirandello im Sterbezimmer zusehen wird, wie Pirandello stirbt." —

Eitingon hatte die wunderbare Gabe, die Menschen zum Sprechen zu bringen, ohne selbst mehr als das Notwendigste zu sprechen, ihnen Wesentliches zu entlocken und so in das Gebaeude ihrer Seele zu sehen, vom Fundament bis zum Giebel.

M. Narkiss

(Minutes of the Jewish National Museum "Bezalel" No. 4, September 1943)

There are people whose artistic tendencies produce creative artistic in one form or another. There are others in whom it finds expression by their artistic life. It is not every man who is capable of living artistically. In any generation not more than a handful are likely to achieve it. They are not writers, they are not painters nor yet sculptors, musicians or actors. Yet they live all the arts together. Art is their very being. Everything they do, every step they take, derives from their sense of art, from what characterises art: shape, proportion and balance, tact and directness, a simplicity which is both noble and solemn. — Such was the life of Dr. Eitingon. Aesthetically considered, he lived a life in his surroundings. Yet it was shown even more by the personality reflected in his house. It was shown in his manner of speaking, in his attitude towards other people, in his handclasp, in the share he took in a man's action or fate, in his comments on a book or a picture, in his discussion of an issue. He was a man made to live art, a man whose delight in artistic work was itself an unceasing work of art, which does not leave and does not wish to leave any monuments of its inmost character; whether by reason of modesty or because there is no desire to compete artificially with others. He did not write much, nor did he say much; but he lived art with all his being. And so he came to be an artist as physician. I imagine that his psychoanalysis was a form of art expression for him, rather than a field of scientific

research. But he was an artist of the lofty life; an art collector, not because he collected objects worth so much and so much, but because this or the other work among those surrounding him had to be part of him, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. It was not material possession, not material acquisition, but a possession from the very soul; it was his because he could not be imagined without it, nor could it be imagined without him.

He was consistent and kept his word. He was one of those silent people whose silence enriches the souls of others; and he shared out his heart and soul wherever he felt they were needed. He was precise and faithful, like a complete work of art. He took over the responsibility for the Museum when the Museum was struggling for very life. All those round us became weary. There were many who disapproved of the pace at which we began; but he did not become weary. Our joint work and interests made us full partners and comrades. The distinction between the benefactor and the recipient of benefits vanished, and gratitude from those who were affected was forgotten. When thanks were offered to him, he refused to accept them, saying: "No thanks, please! No man thanks himself! It is the duty of all of us. Let us continue and be happy in our work!"

We have lost the artist who fashioned forms of life, the artist of the psyche. But our gratitude to him will always be part and parcel of us.

Henrietta Szold

(Aus: „Die Chewrah Psychoanalytith b'Eretz Israel ihrem Präsidenten zum 60. Geburtstag")

In Palestine we are constantly celebrating beginnings. We lay cornerstones, we dedicate buildings, we open roads, we inaugurate institutions, we found industries. We are juveniles with all the tumultuous strivings of youth. It is our good fortune that there are those among us who have gone a long way beyond beginnings. They are our stabilizing counterpoise, and their birthdays are the flashing signal lights along our toilsome path from beginnings to achievement. They are the pledges that apprenticeship to ideas and under masters of the mind cannot but result in mastery.

Thus, dear Dr. Eitingon, the in-gathered exiles rejoices that you reached your three score years with them in Zion. We are grateful that you brought your ripe sapiency, nurtured by epoch-making genius, into the land of beginnings and are training us to look abroad as well as within, within as well as abroad. We revere you because of your power to carry us along on the current of modern thought which floods the dark crannies in the micro-cosmos that populate the world. We are beholden to you for thus keeping us aware of the unalterable kinship of all humans irrespective of race, language and fortune. We endeavour to follow you as a guide, we respect you as a teacher, we admire you as a citizen and a scholar. We pray that you may add other scores of years to the three we are celebrating, and that throughout all of them you will continue to shed the light of wisdom upon the land of beginnings until it reaches the achievement we long for and aspire to.

Juni 1931.
Wien IX., Berggasse 19

Lieber Max

Man hat mir verraten, an welchem Tag Sie Ihr erstes Halbjahrhundert vollenden. Die Zahl kann mir natuerlich nicht imponieren, aber die Gelegenheit will ich nicht ungenuetzt lassen, um Ihnen ein paar herzliche Worte zu sagen. Sind wir doch alle so gebaut, dass Kritik und Vorwurf gebieterisch nach Ausdruck draengen, waehrend Zufriedenheit und Zaertlichkeit meinen, sie muessen sich schamhaft verbergen. Auch ich sage es ja nicht oft, aber ich vergesse nie daran, was Sie in diesen Jahren auch nach der Gruendung des mustergiltigen Berliner Instituts fuer unsere Sache, die ja uneingeschraenkt die Ihre ist, in Ihrer stillen und dabei unwiderstehlichen Art geleistet haben. Niemand ausser mir weiss es und niemand vielleicht dankt Ihnen dafuer. Es gab doch keine noch so schwierige und undankbare Aufgabe, die Sie in der Zeit Ihrer Praesidentschaft nicht auf sich genommen und gluecklich erledigt haetten. Am liebsten saehe ich Sie als Praesident auf Lebenszeit, um die Zukunft meines Schmerzenskindes, der Internationalen Vereinigung und des Verlags zu sichern. Einigermassen bilde ich mir ein, haben Sie das alles auch meinetwegen gethan, was man grade darum, weil es keinen vernuenftigen Grund hat, am meisten zu schaetzen versucht ist. Unser herzliches Einvernehmen — nicht wahr? — war auch niemals ernsthaft getruebt.

Herzlich wie immer und besonders herzlich heute

Ihr
Freud

(Von Frau Mira Eitingon freundlichst zur Veroeffentlichung ueberlassen).

Sigmund Freud

(Aus: „Zehn Jahre Berliner Psychoanalytisches Institut")

Die nachstehenden Blaetter schildern Einrichtung und Leistung des Berliner Psychoanalytischen Instituts, dem innerhalb der psychoanalytischen Bewegung drei bedeutsame Funktionen zugefallen sind: Erstens unsere Therapie jener grossen Menge von Menschen zugaenglich zu machen, die unter ihren Neurosen nicht weniger leiden als die Reichen, aber nicht im Stande sind, die Kosten ihrer Behandlung aufzubringen, zweitens eine Staette herzustellen, an der die Analyse theoretisch gelehrt und die Erfahrungen aelterer Analytiker auf lernbegierige Schueler uebertragen werden koennen; und endlich, unsere Kenntnis der neurotischen Erkrankungen und unsere therapeutische Technik durch Anwendung und Erprobung unter neuen Verhaeltnissen zu vervollkommen.

Ein solches Institut war unentbehrlich, aber auf die Hilfe des Staates und das Interesse der Universitaet fuer seine Gruendung haetten wir vergeblich gewartet. Die Tatkraft und Opferwilligkeit eines Einzelnen unter den Analytikern hat hier eingegriffen. Dr. Max Eitingon, gegenwaertig Praesident der "Internationalen Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung", hat vor nunmehr zehn Jahren ein solches Institut aus eigenen Mitteln geschaffen, es seitdem erhalten und mit eigener Muehe geleitet. Der Rechenschaftsbericht ueber dies erste Jahrzehnt des Berliner Instituts ist eine Huldigung fuer seinen Schoepfer und Leiter, ein Versuch, ihm oeffentlich Dank zu sagen. Wer an der Psychoanalyse in irgend einem Sinne Anteil nimmt, wird in diesen Dank einstimmen.

Ernst Simmel

(Aus: „Zehn Jahre Berliner Psychoanalytisches Institut")

Im September 1918 hat Professor Freud auf dem V. Internationalen Psychoanalytischen Kongress in Budapest als erster auf das neurotische Elend der breiten Bevoelkerungsschichten hingewiesen, denen die Hilfe, die gegen solches Leid die Psychoanalyse bieten koennte, aus wirtschaftlichen Gruenden versagt ist. "Irgend einmal," sagte er, "wird das Gewissen der Gesellschaft erwachen und sie mahnen, dass der Arme ein ebensolches Anrecht auf seelische Hilfeleistung hat wie bereits jetzt auf lebenrettende chirurgische. Und dass die Neurosen die Volksgesundheit nicht minder bedrohen als die Tuberkulose und ebenso wenig wie diese der ohnmaechtigen Fuersorge des Einzelnen aus dem Volke ueberlassen werden koennen. Dann werden also Anstalten oder Ordinationsinstitute errichtet werden, an denen psychoanalytisch ausgebildete Aerzte angestellt sind, um die Maenner, die sich sonst dem Trunk ergeben wuerden, die Frauen, die unter der Last der Entsagungen zusammenzubrechen drohen, die Kinder, denen nur die Wahl zwischen Verwilderung und Neurose bevorsteht, durch Analyse widerstands- und leistungsfaehig zu erhalten. Diese Behandlungen werden unentgeltliche sein. Es mag dauern, bis der Staat diese Pflichten als dringend empfindet. Die gegenwaertigen Verhaeltnisse moegen den Termin noch laenger hinausschieben. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass private Wohltaetigkeit mit solchen Instituten den Anfang machen wird; aber irgend einmal wird es dazu kommen muessen."

Freuds Erwartung sollte sich bald erfuellen. Durch Erfahrungen

in der psychoanalytischen Lazarettbehandlung der Kriegsneurotiker ermutigt, konnten Eitingon und Referent bereits im Jahre 1919 den Plan einer psychoanalytischen Poliklinik der Deutschen Psychoanalytischen Gesellschaft vorlegen. Die Gesellschaft nahm unter Leitung ihres hochverdienten Praesidenten Karl Abraham die Anregung mit Begeisterung auf. Dank der Opferbereitsschaft Max Eitingons konnte die Poliklinik bereits Anfang 1920 ihre Taetigkeit aufnehmen.

...So sind wir dank Eitingons nimmer mueder Initiative zu einer kleinen Hochschule geworden, der auch das wichtigste Bildungsmittel, eine ausgedehnte fachliche Bibliothek der Medizin, nicht fehlt. Wenn wir uns dann noch erinnern, dass im Herbst 1928 die Uebersiedlung des Instituts in groessere, zahlreichere Wohnraeume notwendig wurde, weil fuer den Andrang der Hoerer und Praktikanten, wie fuer die Zahl der staendig zu absolvierenden Analysen die Zustaende in der alten Poliklinik unhaltbar geworden waren, wo noch die wichtigsten Vorlesungen wegen Raummangel in einem fremden Institut abgehalten werden mussten, — so sehen wir auch darin das aeussere Kennzeichen fuer die Tatsache, dass das Berliner Psychoanalytische Institut das Zentrum der Psychoanalytischen Bewegung zunaechst fuer Deutschland geworden ist. Aber die enge Verbundenheit unserer Internationalen Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung hat es zuwege gebracht, dass unsere Schwestervereinigungen in ihren Laendern nach dem Vorbilde des Berliner Instituts eigene Institute geschaffen haben, die auf Grund der Erfahrungen und Anregungen unseres Instituts entstanden, bereits ihre fruchtbare Wirkung entfalten. Die Psychoanalytischen Institute in Wien, London, Budapest, Haag und in naechster Zeit auch in New York und das vorlaeufig noch ohne Therapeutikum arbeitende Institut in Frankfurt a. M., sind die Fruechte des Wirkens von Eitingon in Berlin.

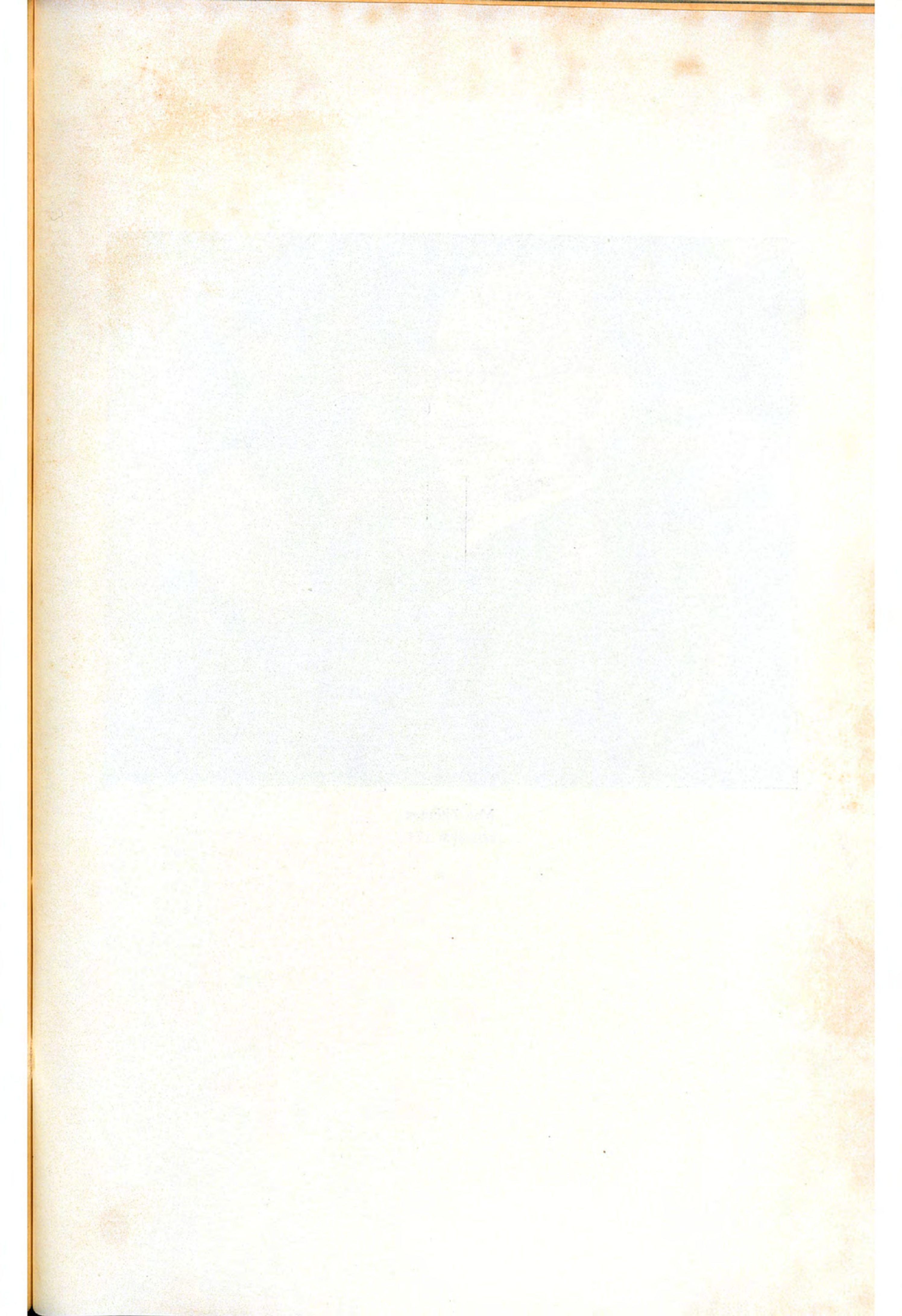
Max Eitingon

(Aus der Ansprache bei der Einweihung der neuen Berliner Institutsräume 30. September 1928)

...In ganz kurzen Worten kann ich zusammenfassen, was wir sind: ein gelungenes Wagnis naemlich. Nicht so sehr das ist ein Wagnis, dass wir mit geringen Mitteln Betraechtliches unternommen haben und ohne Sicherheiten uns auf einen langen Weg begeben haben, das eigentliche Wagnis bestand darin, dass wir den Mut gehabt haben, Autoritaet sein zu wollen, und das in einem Moment, wo die Psychoanalyse sich der Welt gegenueber in einer Situation befand, die unser Meister — und ich darf das in einem jener unvergesslichen Gespraeche mit ihm von ihm gebrauchte Wort wohl hier wiederholen — als eine Phase der noch Pariahaftigkeit bezeichnete. Man hoert auf unsere Vorschlaege, soweit sie analytische Belange betreffen, diskutiert sie auch schon, gibt zu, dass wenn die Analyse ueberhaupt gelernt werden soll, wir die Orte sind, wo sie zu lernen ist. Wir sind also auf dem Weg, die Autoritaet zu erringen, die man zu jedem Tun braucht, das man nicht mehr einzeln verrichtet, und die man vor allem dazu braucht, die Welt daran zu hindern, Stuecke der Analyse statt ihrer Gesamtheit zu nehmen, Teile zu akzeptieren und den Rest zu verwerfen.

Lieber Herr Professor Freud, es ist kein Geluebde mehr, das wir vor Ihnen heute ablegen, sondern der Ausdruck einer freudigen Entschlossenheit und Gewissheit, dass es uns gelingen wird, das Ganze Ihres Werkes bis zu dem ultima Thule jener doch hoffentlich nicht allzu fernen Zeit zu tragen, wo die Welt der Analyse selbst

die Lehrstaetten bieten wird, die ihr gebuehren. Und wir wuenschen und hoffen, dass es Ihnen bald vergoennt sein wird, den Grundstein zu einem eignen Haus zu legen fuer welches immer auch von unseren Instituten. Neidlos wuerden wir es auch einer Schwestergruppe goennen, ist doch alles fuer die gemeinsame Sache: Ihr Werk.





Max Eitingon
Jerusalem 1943

The following six contributions, viz, by

M. Wulff
A. Feigenbaum
D. Idelson
M. Klausner
M. Smilansky
S. J. Agnon

are reproduced in the original Hebrew text, pp. 54-70.

תורה שכוחה ביקש להזכירני, כל זמן שאדם חי אפילו אוחז בידו טלית של ג׳ ציציות אינו רשאי ללבוש אותה, כיון שנעשה מת באים אחרים ונוטלין טלית כשרה של ארבע ציציות ותולשין ציצית אחת ומלבישין אותו.

עגמה נפשי עלי ונצטערתי. ולא על אותו דבר שלחש לי נצטערתי, אלא על יום־טוב קדוש זה של יום הכיפורים זה שעובר בלא תפילה ובלא כלום.

לו שהתפללתי שחרית בבית תפילה שבשכונתי, אלא כלום נאה לאדם לעשות את זקנו גורם לדברי בדאות.

מחמת הדחק ומחמת החום ומחמת הנרות ומחמת רוב המתפללים יבשה הכיפה שבתוך חלל פי שלמעלה מן הלשון. בא לייבל בן בנו של הצדיק ואמר לי, בוא עמי. נגררתי אחריו והלכתי עמו.

הביאני לביתו והעמידני בחדר החיצון ומילא כד ונתן לי להריח בו, כדי לקרר קצת להט צמאוני.

נטלתי את הכד בשתי ידי ושמתי עליו את אפי, כשאני תוהה, למה זה מילא את הכד במי פירות, וכי לא מצא מעט מים. פניו של לייבל אטומות היו ולא נראה בהן גילוי רצון לענות לי. ביני ביני התחילו הפירות שבכד צפים ועולים וכבר הגיעו ממש עד לשיני. הכנסתי את שפתי לתוך פי ועשיתי חיץ בין שיני לבין הפירות. אבל הם היו מפכפכים ועולים מפי הכד והיו שרויים כנגד פי והיו מבעבעין ועולים, סובבין את אפי ומתמצים ומביאין טעמם לפי.

נתמלאתי עברה על לייבל ותפסתי אותו והתחלתי גוררו אחרי. נמשך לייבל עמי, כאילו אני והוא מטיילים כאחד.

כשחזרנו לבית המדרש חזר והציץ בי זקני מתוך הצער. כלום הרגיש זקני מה אירעני? עשיתי את עצמי כאילו יש פירוש אחר לצערו ואמרתי לו, אתה מצטער שאני עומד בלא טלית, מיד אני נוטל את הטלית שיש לי כאן בבית מדרשך ומתעטף בה.

הגבהתי עיני לראות אם נחה דעתו של זקני וראיתי שהביאו ספסלים לבית המדרש והעמידו אותם לשמאלו של ארון הקודש, זה למעלה מזה, כמדריגות של בית המרחץ, ואדם אחד שאיני רוצה להזכיר שמו עומד על גב המעלה העליונה, וכמין מצנפת של נחתום בראשו, ושר פזמונים שאינם של יום הכיפורים, ונער קטן בנו או בן בנו, עומד על ידו, והוא עושה לפי אותם הפזמונים עוויות של שטות, וחצי בית המדרש מביט ומסביר להם פנים. היאך באו לכאן ואימתי באו לכאן? ביני ביני ירדו והלכו להם. שאלתי את עצמי, מה זה, כשביקש לי זקני מקום למה לא ביקש לשמאלו של הארון, כמה ספסלים כאן, כמה מקומות כאן. שאלה אחרת, אותו אדם היאך יצא באמצע התפילה, ולהיכן הלך? חזר והביט בי זקני. נזדרזתי ופשטתי את ידי לתוך חור שבשולחן והוצאתי משם את טליתי. פעמים הרבה חיפשתי שם את טליתי ולא מצאתיה ועכשיו מצאתיה. אם אין אתה אומר שאיש אחר נטלה והחזירה הרי מעשה הוא שיש לתמוה עליו.

כשעמדתי להתעטף בטלית ראיתי שציצית אחת חסרה. בא אותו שאנו מסיחים דעתנו ממנו והוא אינו מסיח דעתו ממנו ולחש לי, טלית של ג׳ ציצית. התחלתי מהרהר, מה בא זה להשמיענו. וכי איני יודע שטלית של ג׳ ציציות פסולה. או שמא

ש"י עגנון / טלית אחרת

לנשמת ר' מרדכי איטינגון הלוי עליו השלום

על שאר טליתותי כבר סיפרתי. עכשיו איני אלא כמוסיף מה אירעני ביום הכיפורים באותה טלית שהנחתיה בבית מדרשו של זקני עליו השלום.

אותו יום הכיפורים עלתה על דעתי להתפלל עם זקני. מחמת ריחוק המקום ומחמת ששהיתי על מטתי שחרית יותר מדי באתי לאחר פסוקי דזמרא. ועל כגון זה ראוי להצטער, שנוהגים בבית מדרשו של זקני ביום הכיפורים שאומרים פסוקי דזמרא פסוק בפסוק בניגון מיוחד. כיוצא בהם האדרת והאמונה לפני ברוך שאמר. וכבר בקטנותי קודם שידעתי פירוש המלות כשהיה החזן משלשל טליתו על פניו ואומר לחי העולמים הייתי תוהה, הרי הוא קורא לו והרי הוא מצוי ועומד עליו, אם כן כיסוי פנים למה? אילו גילה פניו היתה שמחה גדולה בעולם, כאותה השמחה ששמחתי אני בשעה ששיחקתי במחבואים עם אבא, שאני והוא ביקשנו זה את זה, ולבסוף גליתי פני ונמצינו זה לזה.

בכניסתי הוציא זקני פניו מטליתו ופנה אילך ואילך לבקש לי מקום, שכבר נתמלא בית המדרש מתפללים. במזרח לימינו של זקני יושבים היו סיעה של זקנים, שכל אחד היה משונה מחבירו, ואין צריך לומר משאר כל אדם. פניהם מצומקות היו, וזקנם כקנים של קנמון, ועיניהם בלא ריסים, ואישוני עיניהם סמוקים, וכמין חדוה היתה מפכפכת ועולה מעיניהם שהיה אפשר למששה בידים. כיצד נתלקטו כל אלו למקום אחד לבית מדרשו של זקני ועל שום מה צורותיהן משונות כל כך? אחד מהם שהכיר מה זקני דורש ממנו השיב לו בלשון תרגום, הדא יומא דצומא רבה ליתוהי ליליא דפסחא לאמרת כל דכפין ייתי וייכול. אם נפרש את דבריו לפי עניינם כך פירושם, היום איני מחוייב להדחק ולעשות מקום למי שאין לו.

נצטערתי עליו על זקני שנטרד על ידי ואמרתי לו, בבקשה ממך אל תטרח עלי, אני עצמי אמצא לי מקום. אבל ידעתי שדברים בעולם אמרתי לו. ומה הוא שבית המדרש מקומו אינו מוצא לי מקום, אני אמצא לי מקום. ברם לא בלבד על שאין לי מקום היה זקני מצטער, אלא על ששהיתי מלבוא, התחלתי מהרהר, שמא אומר

ולבו של מכס איטינגון רגיש וגופו חלש ולא עמד הלב הגדול בנסיון המר ונשבר...

ובעצם הימים החשכים, שהשתלטו על העולם, בימים שנדמה היה כי השטן נעשה מלך לאדם — הלך האדם הגדול למנוחתו האחרונה על הר הזיתים.

ולמכס איטינגון היה „רכוש" יקר, „אוצר", שאותו הזדרז להציל לפני כל. אוצרו — היתה ספריתו. מפעל־חיים אף היא, שהון רב ועמל רוחני כביר היו שקועים בה. שנים על שנים אסף ואגר בספריתו ממיטב יצירותיו של האדם, בארבע השפות הראשיות של הצוויליזציה: גרמנית, אנגלית, צרפתית ורוסית וגם מעט מזעיר מן הספרות העברית עם „על פרשת הדרכים" בראשה, שלמד לקרוא ב מ ק ו ר ה; וגם את „תורת הלבבות" שמר כאוצר. את הכי טוב והכי נאצל משופר מיצירות הרוח והמחשבה של האדם אסף, כפי שהעידו אחר־כך מומחים לדבר ומתוך טעם רב ובחירה מעולה אסף. ובראש ובראשונה, את מיטב הספרות שנוצרה ע"י רבו ותלמידיו המרובים.

ויביא עמו את כל המשא ה„כבד" הזה, את אלפי ואלפי הכרכים של ספריתו, עמו ירושלימה. ואת דירתו, ששכר לו בירושלים, בנו מכתחילה לפי בקשתו, בהתאמה לספריתו, וישכין אותה בה לכבוד ולתפארת.

את „אוצרו" הציל מכס איטינגון, אבל מאוצרות אביו נשארו בידו רק פירורים עלובים ויהי מוכרח הפעם לפנות אל העבודה כרופא פרטי, כדי לפרנס את ביתו. ולא רק את ביתו בלבד פרנס, כי אם גם את ספריתו המשיך להגדיל, ואף מוסד קטן וצנוע הקים בירושלים, להמשיך בו את הפצת תורתו בין המעטים הרוצים בה.

מכס איטינגון ישב שורה של שנים בעיר האוניברסיטה העברית, אבל מפני טעמים נעלמים לא התקשר קשר ביניהם. ה„אוניברסיטה" שלו נשארה בביתו, בספריתו, במוסדו הקטן והצנוע שהקים ובחוג הקטן והמצומצם של ח ב ר י ם, שבאו והתלקטו מסביבו אחד אחד מארבע פנות העולם.

ושנים לא טובות נמנו למכס איטינגון בירושלים, עיר הקודש. שנים של מצוקה כלכלית, בפרט בזמן המלחמה, ושנים קשות עוד יותר של מצוקה רוחנית.

הקדושה, שגורשה ב„חרפה" מגרמניה, התחילה להיות ל„מעמסה" בכל חלקי העולם וגם בארץ הקדושה... והסימנים, שהרעה נגעה גם אל נפשו של העם השוכן בציון, התרבו מיום ליום. הטומאה, שבקשה לה„חרים" את העם, שנתן את הקדושה לעולם כולו — טיפות טיפות של הטומאה הזו נזרעו בנפשם של חלקים מבני העם הזה ונדבקו בה...

עיניו של מכס איטינגון רואות וכלות. הרעה נגעה בקדושי הקדשים, וידיו עצרו מלעמוד בפרץ. הוא ידע, כי הרעה, שהשיגה את האנושיות ואת עמו בתוכה, מחלת־נפש היא ואין לה תרופה כי אם ברפוי הנפש מיסודה, בטפול ובחנוך ובגדול האדם בדרכים חדשות; והמלאכה מרובה מאד והזמן כה קצר... וחרבו של המשחית אינה מתמהמהת, והיא מחבלת ומחריבה על ימין ועל שמאל, ומחזירה את האדם ליערות־הפראות של ימי קדם, עת היה האדם פרא ואין יתרון לו על הבהמה...

כוחו לפתרונם. והרי כל חייו היו מוקדשים לגלוי המסתרים הללו ולגלוי פתרוניהם בכדי להקל את משאם הכבד מעל האדם.

בכל פעם, כשבקרתי את ברלין, הייתי הולך לבקר את המוסד של מכס איטינגון, וכאל מקום מקדש הייתי הולך. ולא מפני שידעתי להעריך את ערכו של המוסד, כי אף שמץ כלשהו מתורת פרויד לא נגלה לי, אבל מפני שידעתי להעריך ולהעריץ את הלה, שהיה בעינו כסמל האדם, ואשר מרוחו ונפשו האציל על כל סביבתו. איזו אוירה מיוחדת של קדושה היתה מורגשת כאן בכל: בספריה, באולמים הנרחבים, אשר בהם, הרצו הרצאות אנשים מגדולי־הרוח, ואשר אליהם היו מתכנסים תלמידים צעירים מכל אומות העולם. והאוירה הקדושה עטפה בכנפיה את כל העוזרים והעובדים. רוח מיוחדת, רוח בלתי שכיחה היתה מרחפת כאן על כל ועל הכל.

וכשהייתי בא אליו, היה מוצא לעצמו זמן לצאת מד׳ האמות של תורתו ושל עולמו ולהכנס לעולם שלנו, אל הבעיות ואל התקוות של הארץ, שנשארו תמיד ובכל עת משאת נפשו. היה לו יחס מיוחד אל הארץ, יחס כאל הופעה אנושית נשגבה ולא רק לאומית, יחס כאל חזון... והרי כל הויתו היתה שאיפה אל החזון שבאחרית הימים. והוא אהב את בוני הארץ; היה לו יחס של קירבה אליהם, קרובים היו לנפשו.

ועל האיש החסיד הזה ועל מוסדו, מפעל חייו, על מקדשו, קפץ רוגזו של השטן, אשר קם בברלין וזמם לשפוך את שלטונו על כל בני האדם. ואמנם כיצד ישכנו במקום אחד, תחת כיפת אותם השמים, הקדושה והטומאה גם יחד?... המוסד נלקח מידי מכס אטינגון בכוח הזרוע ונמסר לידים חדשות, אשר לבסוף טמאוהו. ואת האיש עקרו מביתו.

שערי אנגליה, אשר לשם נמלט רבו מורו מווינה, היו פתוחים גם בפני תלמידו הגדול. וגם מאמריקה, אשר לשם נמלטה שארית הפליטה של משפחת אביו, שכבר הלך לעולמו לפני זה, קראו למכס איטינגון בקולי קולות. אבל אל אזניו ואל לבו הגיע קול דממה דקה הקורא לו מן הארץ, שבה היתה מחצבתה הראשונה של האמת האנושית. ומכס איטינגון שמר יחס של קדושה אל הארץ הזאת מימי נעוריו ועוד נפשו נכספת ל„מחנים" הנעלמים שבה. איננו „ציוני מדיני", כל „מדינאות" זרה לרוחו, אבל הוא אוהב את עמו ואוהב את ארצו ואוהב גם את שפתו ואת ספרות עמו הצנועה והעניה.

ויעלה הוא וביתו, חברת חייו מרים, ארצה. ואוצר יקר הביא עמו ירושלימה, שבה התישב.

כשנעקר מכס איטינגון מברלין, שהפכה להיות בירת הרשע, הפשע והקלון האנושי, עדיין ניתנה אז הרשות מאת המשחית לכל פליט לקחת עמו המעט מרכושו.

ובירושלים לבסוף, ומפגישה לפגישה גברו בי ההרגשה וההכרה, כי המקרה המאושר הקרני בפני איש צדיק, אשר כמוהו רק מתי־מספר הנם בכל העולם כולו. פניו ונפשו קרנו תמיד; מקרני אורו יוטב, יואר, יוקל והונח גם לך. אפילו העמידה הארעית בד׳ אמותיו, כאשר קרה לי, עלולה היתה לרומם אותך ולאהל מאורה עליך. מראה פניו ועיניו, שיחתו ואף שיחת־חולין שלו, נטעו אמונה עמוקה בלבך, כי אמנם עדיין יש אנשים קדושים בעולם הטמא הזה. ויש שהיית מהרהר בלבך: ככה בקש בודאי הבורא לברוא את האדם, והצליח רק במקרים בודדים מעטים, במקרים היוצאים מן הכלל... ונחמה גדולה היתה באה אל לבך: אם אנשים כאלה, ולו רק אחד מרבבה, מתהלכים על פני האדמה — נצח האנושות לא ישקר. והמושגים על צדק ועל יושר — לא אנשי־רוח תמימים המציאום בדמיונם, כי אם מתנת האלהים הם, אשר ניתנו מלמעלה לבני־האדם המתהלכים על פני האדמה מלמטה.

אותו הביקור הראשון בארץ בשנת תר״ע, לא קשר את מכס איטינגון אל הארץ.

עוד בהיותו תלמיד האוניברסיטה, בשנת 1905, נודע לו בפעם הראשונה דבר תורתו של פרויד, והיא משכה אותו בחבלי קסם, ויתענין בה ענין רב. הוא היה חבר לחבורה קטנה של סטודנטים, ליד האוניברסיטה של ציוריך, שהתעניינה וחקרה בבעיות הפסיכיאטריה, ויקח בה חלק פעיל מאד. ובשנת 1907 היה הוא הראשון מהחבורה הזאת שהלך להכיר את פרויד פנים אל פנים ולשמוע את דבריו מפיו. ומהפגישה הראשונה הזאת של הרב והתלמיד היו התוצאות לקשר־חברות ביניהם לכל ימי חייהם.

ד״ר מ. איטינגון קוה למצוא בארץ אפשרות להניח בה יסוד למחקר של הפסי־כואנליזה; וכשלא מצא, חזר לעומת שבא וישוב לברלין ויתן את כוחו ואת חייו לתורת הנפש החדשה של פרויד, שגלתה לו את תעלומותיה של נפש האדם. הוא מצא את דרכו בחיים ואת מפעל חייו. ותורת רבו מצאה בו את התלמיד ואת הממשיך הגדול, אשר העמיק את מחשבתה הגדילה והאדירה. הוא התחיל בעבודה עצמאית ויקים בברלין אחרי המלחמה הראשונה את המוסד שלו לפסיכואנליזה.

„המגורש" ממוסקבה, ר׳ חיים איטינגון, מצא את דרכו בחיים בגרמניה, כמגור־שים רבים מרוסיה, ויפתח בלייפציג, שבה בנה את ביתו החדש, בית־מסחר גדול לפרוות ויעשה עושר רב, שממנו נהנתה גם הקהילה היהודית בעירו. וגם בנו, בכורו מכס איטינגון, נהנה מעושרו של אביו, אבל לא להנאתו העצמית בלבד, כי אם גם ובעיקר למען מוסדו. את המוסד שלו בברלין יסד, כלכל והחזיק על חשבונו הפרטי ובממדים רחבים, שגרמו להפסדי כסף עצומים. אבל מה הם הפסדי כסף בעיני איש התורה והמחקר, אם בהם כרוכים „רוחים" לתורתו? והרוחים רבים הם: הוא אוסף פירורים פירורים את הסודות העמוקים הגלומים במסתרי נפשו של האדם וחותר בכל

משה סמילנסקי

(רחובות)

בחייו של בן־אדם יש ויקרה לו איזה מקרה, אשר יעשה עליו רושם כביר, שלא ימחק עוד מלבו עד יומו האחרון עלי־אדמה ויש אשר פגישה עם ילוד־אשה כמוהו יעשה על האדם רושם בל־ימחה כזה.

פגישה כזאת נטמנה גם לי בכף גורלי, באחד הימים, בשנת 1910 בברלין, שבאתי אליה במקרה. אז פגשתי בפעם הראשונה בחיי את מ כ ס א י ט י נ ג ו ן. הוא גמר מזמן את חוק למודיו כד״ר לרפואה, ויאמר לעלות ולראות את ה א ר ץ, וגם לחקור אם יוכל למצוא לו בה מקום לעבודתו בבית־חולים.

הוא לא היה מה שנקרא בימים ההם „ציוני". אבל לבו משכהו לארץ האבות העטופה ערפל של קסם בעיניו. הוא נולד על ברכי הורים, אנשי המסורת במוהילוב. ובעוד היותו נער רך בשנים, עזב עם הוריו את ארץ מולדתו החורגת. בימי „גירוש מוסקבה", בשנת 1891. בימי נערותו ספג אל תוכו, בבית הוריו, אהבה אל העבר הגדול של עמו. ועוד דבר־מה גדול ספג אז אל תוכו. אביו, ר' חיים איטינגון, קנה בימים ההם חלק בקרקעות, שרכש הברון אדמונד רוטשילד בעבר הירדן מזרחה, ב מ ח נ י ם ההיסטורית. הקניה בוטלה, אבל זכרה של „מחנים" לא בוטל מלבו ומדמיונו של הנער, וגם כשגדל ויהי לאיש שמר את הזכר הזה בלבו כדבר־מה קדוש ויקר.

וכשהוגד למכס איטינגון, במקרה, כי בברלין נמצא איש מן ה א ר ץ בקש לראותני, לשאול מפי על חייה ועל דרכיה של הארץ ולחקור ממני על „מחנים", איה? היוכל לראותה בעיניו?...

בתחילת הלילה נפגשנו באחד מבתי־הקפה בקצה רחוב פרידריק, ו כ ל ה ל י ל ה ישבנו וספרנו על ארץ־ישראל ורק עם אשמורת הבוקר, כשמטאטאי האשפה ברחובות יצאו לעבודתם, נפרדנו. מבית־הקפה נסע אל תחנת־הרכבת לעלות ארצה.

מאז, מיום פגישתנו הראשונה בברלין, ועד יום מותו בירושלים, עברו כשלשים וארבע שנים, ובמשך השנים הללו נפגשנו פעמים אין מספר, בחוץ־לארץ תחילה

אהבתו הגדולה ניתנה לילדים. בשנים האחרונות התרכזה דאגתו בשלומם של אלפי ילדים — אשר גורשו מ„שם" — ופה הם חפשו מולדת. —

איטינגון לא היה מורה אשר לימד מעל הקתדרה, ולא שופט אשר שפט מדוכנו. תורתו גנוזה היתה בהקשבה, — שיפוטו היה לעתים אשור או סרוב בקול דממה דקה. הקרובים אליו — נתיתמו במותו.

מרגוט קלאוזנר

(„הזמן" מיום 27 באוגוסט 1943)

לפני שלשים יום נפטר ד"ר מקס איטינגון, אחרי מחלה ממושכת שחלה בה עוד לפני שלש־עשרה שנה. הוא היה אחד מאלה אשר בשרות הנאמן בתפקידם אינם יודעים לשמור על עצמם וגופם.

מספר שנים לפני מותו יעצו לו להפסיק לזמן מה את פעולתו כרופא פסיכואנ־ליטי, למען יוכל לשמור על בריאותו, אולם הוא לא שם לבו לאזהרות אלו, וכך נפל בעמדתו.

הוא היה רופא נפש גדול, איש בעל ידיעות אוניברסליות, כליל של תרבות הומנית, ידען ומומחה בציור, מוסיקה, ספרות ותיאטרון. הוא היה מטפח כשרונות צעירים — גם היה מסייע להם בסתר.

כשאנו מעמיקים להסתכל במהותו של איש זה — מתעוררת בנו המחשבה, כי העבודה המתמדת לטהור עצמו ואחרים — היא היא אשר עזרה לפתח ולהגביר בו את הסגולות שקבל מהטבע ומבית הוריו. נראה הדבר שאפשר ל ר כ ו ש סגולות נפש בכח ההתמדה והרצון, סגולות שרק אנשים מעטים נתברכו בהן מלידה, — וב ניהן והרכות.

ימיו ושעותיו של ד"ר איטינגון היו מסודרים ומחושבים מראש, מבוקר עד ערב — אף ההפסקות שביניהם נכללו בתכנית זמנו. ועם כל התוכן הרב והענין, עברו ימים ושעות אלו ללא כל בהלה או חפזון; ומובן מאליו שכל אלה האנשים אשר סבבו אותו, אף הם כאילו נכללו באורח חיים תכליתי זה.

קו אחר אופיני לאישיותו של איטינגון היתה תבונתו והתעמקותו בתהליכי הנפש של האמן היוצר. כמעטים, ידע להבחין בנטיה טבעית, ולהבדיל בין האמת לבין הזיוף — הן באמנות והן במדע. כמה ציירים צעירים וכמה סופרים מצאו אצלו גם כאן, בארץ ישראל — עזרה, הקשבה ועצה. כמה כתבי יד קרא בשעות הפנאי המעטות שלו. הוא לא קמץ אף פעם בנתינת עצמו, כאשר דרושה היתה עזרתו. הוא נתן את עצמו — הוא נתן הכל למען „הענין".

בא בדברים עם רופאים ואנשי־שם ובצאתו אמר לי: עוד בראשית השנה הבאה אעביר לארץ את המכון ואת הספריה. והוא קיים את דבריו. בשנת 1933, לא באמצעים שקיבל מאחרים, אף לא בתקציבים צבוריים אלא באמצעיו הוא, שהיו כבר אז מצומצמים מאד, העביר את המכון ואת הספריה לירושלים.

עם עלותו בשנת 1934 ארצה הקים את המכון הפסיכואנליטי בירושלים ולידו ספריה מקצועית שאין כמוה למקצוע זה בארץ. הוא ריכז סביבו רופאים ומורים ויסד את ה„חברה הפסיכואנליטית בארץ ישראל" (גם בירחנים לועזיים נזכר השם במלואו במלים עבריות), פיתח את הריפוי המיוחד של חולים ונתן הזדמנות לרופאים ולמורים להשתלם ע"י המכון ולעבוד אח"כ לפי שיטת פרויד. הודות לד"ר א. ולמרצו נעזרו עשרות ומאות אנשים מוכי גורל שעד בואו ארצה נמקו בסבלם, וילדים עזובים וקשי־חינוך קיבלו עזרה מיוחדת ממחנכים, והודות ל"דר א. נהפכה ירושלים, — מזמן גירוש המלומדים מוינא ומגרמניה, — למרכז המדע הפסיכו־אנליטי.

פרופ' פרויד מצא בבתו, אנא פרויד, את העוזרת הנאמנה לעבודתו המדעית, היא היא השומרת על דעותיו וחקירותיו וממשיכה ביצירת אביה גם אחר מותו וגם בחייו. ואל אלה השנים הצטרף, מבראשית היצירה המדעית, ד"ר איטינגון, תחילה כתלמיד ואח"כ כידיד וחבר נאמן ובמשך עשרות בשנים נשאר נאמן לתורתו של פרויד. אפשר להגיד שעם מותו של פרויד נשארו מעטים ובודדים, ששמרו על המסורת שבתורת פרויד ואל המצויינים שבין המעטים הללו השתייך המנוח.. הוא העמיד את עצמו כולו, על רכושו, יכלתו וידיעותיו, להפצת הפסיכואנליזה בעולם.

ראוי לציין, שד"ר א., אשר היה בקי בתורת פרויד, לא כתב כמעט ולא כלום. למרות היותו בעל ידיעות עמוקות ברפואה ובפסיכואנליזה ולמרות שליטתו באופן שלם בחמש לשונות אירופיות — לא כתב ולא פרסם דבר, מתוך ענווה ומתוך בריחה מפרסום.

וכאשר רוב הרופאים והמלומדים מברלין ומשאר ערי גרמניה יצאו מי לאמריקה ומי לאנגליה, נדרש ד"ר א. ע"י קרוביו ואשתו ללכת לאמריקה, והוא נשאר בשלו: „ארץ־ישראל וירושלים יהיו מעכשיו מרכז לחקירה הפסיכואנליטית. אני חייב זאת לפרויד, שארץ ישראל היא משאת נפשו ואני חייב זאת לעצמי".

ד"ר איטינגון מת. אין בפי תנחומים לאבדה זו. על החוג שרכז סביבו מוטלת החובה להציב לו מזכרת ע"י המשכת המפעל שיסד ויצר בירושלים, ובזה נקים לו ולפסיכואנליזה מרכז ושם בארץ.

ד. אידלסון

(„דבר" מיום 6 באוגוסט 1943)

מות ד"ר איטינגון אבדה קשה היא, וקשה במיוחד לנו, לבני החוג המצומצם שריכז סביבו בארץ ולבודדים הסובלים בדומיה שעזר להם ע"י עבודתו הרפואית, ושבעתים קשה לאלה שחיכו לעזרתו ולא יקבלוה עוד.

הכרתי את ד"ר א. בראשונה בברלין לאחר יצירת המכון הפסיכואנליטי שלו. היה זה בשנת 1925. הוא היה אז מלא תכניות ושאיפות וכאשר שמע מפי, כי באתי מארץ־ישראל, שינה את בת הצחוק שבפניו להבעה רצינית ואמר: „הידעת, כי עוד בהיותי סטודנט הבטחתי לחברי הסטודנטים, כי נעלה ארצה ונפעל שם. כנראה לא הגיע עדיין הזמן לכך, עוד עבודה רבה לפני כאן, אבל עלה אעלה".

בהמשך שיחתי אתו אז ובבקורי הרבים במכון הפסיכו־אנליטי שבברלין הכרתיו יותר ויותר. קשריו לארץ ואפיו המיוחד משכוני אליו. הוא היה אדם בעל שווי משקל נפשי מיוחד במינו ואמיץ לב שלא ידע נסיגות, עבד בלי ליאות, בעל הומור דק ונעים וידע לנתח כל מקרה בחיים באופן חד ומדוקדק ועל הכל — טוב־לב עד בלי גבול.

ד"ר א. נולד למשפחה יהודית עשירה מאד ברוסיה. והיה רגיל בחיי מותרות, אבל לגבי החולים שפנו אליו נהג בפשטות יתירה. לא התרומם מעל הכל, גם בתפסו עמדה השובה בחברה הפסיכואנליטית הבין לאומית, יכולתי לראות אותו מתווכח עם כל משתלם במכון על כל סוגיה קלה והמורה שבפסיכואנליזה.

הוא היה חבר הועד הבינלאומי של החברה הפסיכואנליטית ובמשך שנים רבות היה גם נשיאה. כל הזמן נחשב לאחד העורכים הקבועים של הירחון הפסיכואנליטי, ושימש ראש הועד הבינלאומי להוראת הפסיכואנליזה; הוא יסד את המכון, הראשון מסוג זה, לפסיכואנליזה בברלין — וברוב ענוותו וצניעותו עמד תמיד בצל. וכשהביעו לו את ההלל בקונגרסים הפסיכואנליטיים עמד מן הצד כנחבא אל הכלים.

בחורף 1932 נפגשתי אתו שוב בברלין ואז אמר לי. עכשיו, נדמה לי, הגיע גם זמני לעלות ארצה. והוא גלה לפני את תכניותיו על העברת המכון הפסיכואנליטי והספריה שלה לארץ ועל הפיכת ירושלים למרכז הפסיכואנליזה הבינלאומית. הוא

ולמנוע גם קטסטרופות עולמיות חדשות בעתיד. הלא ב„צ׳רטר האטלנטי" מבטיחים לנו אנשי־מדינה רמי־מעלה גם „חופש מפחד", שבזה הם מתכוונים לפחד מפני התקפות־חוץ דוקא, בשעה שהם מתעלמים לגמרי מהפחד המקנן עמוק־עמוק בלב־האדם מפני התהומות שבקרבו ומהקונפליקטים הפנימיים שלו אשר מוצאים להם לפעמים מוצא במעשי תוקפנות והרס. וכל עוד שלא יבינו זאת קבירניטי העולם ולא ישכילו להדריך וללמד דורות של ילדים, הורים ומורים — הלא לא יקום שלום של קיימא בעולם. ועד שלא יעשו זאת בממדים גדולים אנשי־המדינה, הלא נטלו חובה זו על עצמם, מעין „הליכה בקטנות", יחידים וקבוצות עובדים — אנשי־סגולה מאותו הסוג שאותם ארגן במפעלים שלו, המכון הפסיכואנאליטי והחברה הפסי־כואנאליטית, איטינגון, זכרונו לברכה.

ואם גם נציין את הנציונליסמוס כריגריסיה — כגעגועים אחרי האם־אדמה, אבל הנה ריגריסיה זו היא אשר — בבחינת מיכניסמוס של הגנה — העבירה גם את איטינגון ואת מפעלו מברלין — לא לאמריקה, אלא לא״י. ועל כך א״י חייבת לעולמים תודה לאיטינגון, שהרכיב על הצמח הרך והדווי של קבוץ הגלויות שלנו כאן את התנועה הפסיכואנאליטית. הבה נקווה שהישוב ומוסדותיו ישכילו לתת לפסיכו־אנאליסיס את מקומה הראוי לה, להלכה ולמעשה בכל ענפי החיים, שיוכנו לכך הלבבות ושיהיו לכך התנאים החיצוניים הדרושים.

איטינגון היה סקפטי, אבל הוא לא התיאש ואת עבודתו המשיך בהתלהבות עד הרגע האחרון. ואין צריך להתיאש מקידמת המין האנושי — הלא בכל זאת נתהווה, אמנם בתקופות ארוכות־ארוכות מאד, הבדל־מה בין האדם שהיה חי במערות ובין בן־התרבות של היום. ואם הקידמה הכללית גם תתמהמה — והיא רחוקה מאתנו עוד דרך רבה — מה בכך? הלא בינתים למדנו — בימינו יותר מאשר בכל זמן אחר — שאין לבן־האדם ערך גדול מכבוד־האנוש שלו, בחייו וגם במותו.

איטינגון הוא לנו דוגמה מאלפת של איש שכבוד־האנוש שבו היה מפותח נהדרות. הוא השאיר לנו בא״י ירושה רוחנית גדולה שידידיו ומעריציו, חבריו ותלמידיו צריכים לשמור עליה כעל בבת־עינם. ומובטחני שזכרו הברוך ישאר לארץ momentum aere perennius.

אריה פיגנבאום

(נאום באספת אזכרה במכון הארצישראלי לפסיכואנאליזה ביום 29 ביולי 1944)

מכס איטינגון, זה שהערצנו אותו ואהבנו אותו, כנס אותנו כאן בחייו והוא אשר מכנס אותנו כאן גם לאחר מותו. אלמלא הוא — לא היה כאן מפעלו, המכון הפסי־כואנאליטי, ולא אותו החוג הקטן המאורגן של אנשים אמיצים, לוחמי־הקידמה, המהווים את החברה הפסיכואנאליטית ואותו החוג שמסביבם, שלתוכו מתחילה לחדור לאט־לאט ההכרה על ערכה התרבותי המכריע של תורת פרויד.

חבל על אותו העולם של הומניות, יופי ואצילות שחרב אתו ללא שוב עוד באותה הצורה הנפלאה והיחידה במינה. אבל, „המקום שדרכה בו רגלו של האדם הטוב קודש הוא" אומר הפיטן, ועולם זה של איטינגון שהלך מאתנו בלא־עת לא חרב כלו. כי מובטח לו לאדם היוצר־בחסד שהאור הקורן ממנו, נפעלים הימנו, ברפלכסים אין־סוף, אנשי סביבתו ומפעלו, אשר מהם מוחזרות לכל עבר בנות־רפלכסים לרוב, עד אשר, בהמשך הזמן, לא ניכר אפילו מוצאו המקורי של האור. הוא, איטינגון עצמו, קרן ממנו — ובזה היה הוא אחד מיחידי־הסגולה — אורו העצום של רבו הגדול, מאור־התקופה, ואשרי האיש שבחלקו נפל תפקיד כזה!.

בימים אלה נזכרתי בהערה קטנה אחת, במלים סתומות אחדות, ששמעתי מפי איטינגון חדשים מועטים לפני פטירתו. כשנתגלגלה השיחה לעולם שלאחר מלחמת־עולם זו ומה יהא טיבו, אמר איטינגון בפשטות: „ich bin nicht neugierig" „אין אני משתוקק לדעת". מלים אלו זעזעו אותי ונחרתו במוחי, כי מתוכם בצבצה לא רק חכמתו של האיש, אלא נתגלתה גם פסימיות עמוקה. היא מזכירה לי את חששו הידוע של פרויד: מי יודע, אם האנושות תאזור־כוח לשאת את תורתו וכל מה שכרוך בה. דבריו של איטינגון, צריך לפרש אותם ככה, שלא האמין בשנויים לטובה בדורנו או בזה שלאחריו, אלא שרצה להביע מעין מה שאמר קוהלת ש„מה שהיה הוא שיהיה ומה שנעשה הוא שיעשה, ואין כל חדש תחת השמש".

ומי כאיטינגון ידע עוד, כמה **אין** בני־האדם **רוצים** להכיר במניע הראשי למעשיהם, ביצריהם, ושמתוך־כך לא ידעו ולא ינסו גם לתקן את המעוות בשרשיו,

צד אל החוקר. אבל חקירה יומיומית זו בחומר הקליני מבחינה מדעית טהורה, בצד תצפיות מיוחדות, עובדות קטנות, זו הביקורת, האנאליזה, ההשוואה והשיקול — כל אלה לא השביעו את רצונו של איטינגון. אצלו שלטו כמקודם הנטיה וההת־עניינות בפרובלימות כלליות, במופשט הפילוסופי ובהשקפה היסודית. זעוד קו־יסוד אחד באופיו ובאישיותו איש מחשבות ואסתט. אין אני מיודעי הגרפולוגיה ומוקיריה, אבל כל אחד שלידו נזדמן כתב־ידו של איטינגון מן ההכרח היה שיעריץ את כתב־הפנינים הזה. כל אות היתה כמעט מפעל אמנותי, וכך גם כל מלה נבחרת כל פנייה, כל משפט ורעיון. אפשר היה לראות, שהאיש שכתב זאת, נטה ראשית כל ליופי, ליופי של החיצוניות והתוכן גם יחד. אבל לא רק כתב ידו, אלא כל סביבתו של איטינגון, כל הלכות חייו העידו על כך, כי הוא היה — מה שמכנים יפה־רוח, במובן הנעלה של מושג זה. בשיחה השתמש איטינגון ברצון בציטאטות, אבל הוא לא ציטט את תוכן הרעיון בלבד, כי אם את המשפט כמות שהוא, מלה במלה, ותמיד היתה זו מחשבה מנוסחת יפה ובצורה פאראדוכסאלית לרוב. והוא עצמו נהנה הנאה שלמה מן הציטטות, מן הנסוח היפה, מן התוכן, ומכל דבר שברוח.

עבודת היצירה המיוחדת של מכס איטינגון בתנועה הפסיכואנאליטית היתה בשדה אחר לגמרי, דהיינו בשטח אירגון התנועה והנהלתה. הוא היה כאחד ממארגני החברה הפסיכואנאליטית הבינלאומית ויושב־ראשה במשך שנים רבות. הוא ידע כיצד יש לשאת ולתת עם אנשים, כיצד לארגנם ולנהלם. הוא עזר גם לארגן ולנהל את המו״לות הפסיכואנאליטית הבינלאומית ויסד, יחד עם הד״ר זימל, את המכון הראשון וכדוגמתו הוקמו אחר כך מכונים דומים בווינה, פרנקפורט, לונדון, וערים רבות באמריקה. מכון זה הפך להיות מקום ועד לחברה הפסיכואנאליטית בברלין ובגרמניה, הוא ריכז מסביבו כוחות מדעיים וכשרונות מעולים מכל אירופה המרכזית; שם חונך דור שלם של פסיכואנאליטיקאים צעירים ומאות רבות של נזקקים לטיפול מצאו כאן את טיפולם חינם אין כסף או תמורת סכום כסף זעום בלבד. מכון זה נהיה במרוצת הזמן למרכז רוחני במובן ידוע לחוגי אינטליגנציה מסויימים בברלין, וללא חשש להגזמה אפשר להגיד כי מכון זה מילא תפקיד תרבותי מסויים בחייה הרוחניים של ברלין וגרמניה באותה תקופה.

יחד עם התמסרותו זו לפסיכואנאליזה שמר איטינגון גם על קשרים עם חוגים פילוסופיים מסויימים ועמד בקשרי ידידות עם הפילוסוף הרוסי הידוע לב שסטוב.

לתיאור אישיותו הרוחנית של איטינגון יש עוד לציין את ענינו ואהבתו הגדולים באמנות הציור בארץ — הוא עמד בראש הנהלת המוזיאון ובית־הספר האמנותי של „בצלאל".

הידוע מהאסכולה הניאו־קאנטית — הרמן כהן, ובו בזמן התחיל כבר במארבורג את למודיו בתורת המדיצינה. אחר כך העתיק את מושבו לציריך, מקום בו הרצה בזמן ההוא בלוילר. בעזרתו מצא לבסוף איטינגון את הדרך לקשירת שדה לימודיו החדש לשאיפות רוחו הקודמות, שרחש לעניני תופעותיו והתגלויותיו של רוח האדם. עם גמר חוק לימודיו נשאר בציריך כאסיסטנט בקליניקה הפסיכיאטרית האוניבר־סיטאית שם.

בזמן ההוא רבה בקליניקה הציריכית ההתעניינות בחקירותיו החדשות, רבות המחשבה ובעלות האופי החלוצי של הניברולוג והפסיכיאטר הווינאי — זיגמונד פרויד. איטינגון היה הראשון מבין עוזרי הקליניקה שנסע לוינה, על מנת להכיר את פרויד באופן אישי ולהתמכר לתורתו מן המקור הראשון. וכך הוא נעשה לאחד הראשונים, שעזרו ליצור את הקשר ההדוק בין האסכולה הפסיכואנאליטית הווינאית והקליניקה הציריכית, קשר שכידוע הביא גם לשיתוף פעולה מסויים, אשר לצערנו לא נמשך אלא זמן קצר. מה פורה היה שיתוף פעולה זה ומה רב תפקידו החיובי בהתפתחות הפסיכיאטריה, הפסיכופאתולוגיה והפסיכולוגיה — על כל אלה אין מן הצורך להרחיב כאן את הדיבור. ובלי כל ספק זכותו היא של מכס איטינגון למדע, אשר עזר ליצירת שיתוף פעולה זה וגם פעל בו.

ב־1913 עזב איטינגון את הקליניקה, כדי להתחיל במסילת חיים עצמאית. לימודיו באוניברסיטה ועבודתו הקלינית הן הן שקבעו כבר ביסוד את כיוונה של מסילה זו. אך תוכנה המיוחד היה תלוי בגורמים אחרים. איטינגון השתייך לדור המאושר של האנשים הצעירים, שבחרותם ועונת הכשרתם לחייהם העתידים חלו בזמן הביניים שבין התחלת המאה העשרים והתפרצותה של מלחמת העולם הראשונה. זה היה אולי הזמן המצויין ביותר בקורות האנושות האירופית, זמן האמידות החומרית והפריחה הרוחנית, שהתבלט בשפע האידיאליזם וההתעלות שבו. וביחוד אמורים הדברים לגבי הנוער היהודי הלומד, שכל האידיאליזם שלו, אשר נאגר במשך מאות בשנים בשהותו בגיטו, נתמסר עתה — בדור השני או השלישי שאחרי האמנציפציה — למדע או למדיניות בכל חום לבו ובכל חריצותו. באידיאליזם זה היה מכס איטינגון מחונן במידה רבה. וכך בחר הוא, הבן הצעיר להורים עשירים, בקריירה הצנועה של פסיכותרפט ואיש־המדע ונטל על עצמו את המעמסה הנכבדה של לוחם מדעי לאמת ולרעיונות חדשים, אשר לא היה בהם כדי להבטיח לו הצלחה חומרית, חברתית או איזו הצלחה אחרת שהיא. במרוצת הזמן השיג את אחד המקומות הראשונים בניהול התנועה הפסיכואנאליטית.

אבל יש לציין, כי עמדתו שרכש לו בתנועה זו, היתה מיוחדת במינה. בהתפתחות מדע הפסיכואנאליזה היתה אז תקופה, שבה הפתיעו על כל צעד ושעל בעיות חדשות, שבה נראה היה שדה העבודה רחב ללא גבול, והחומר המתאים זרם מכל

משה וולף

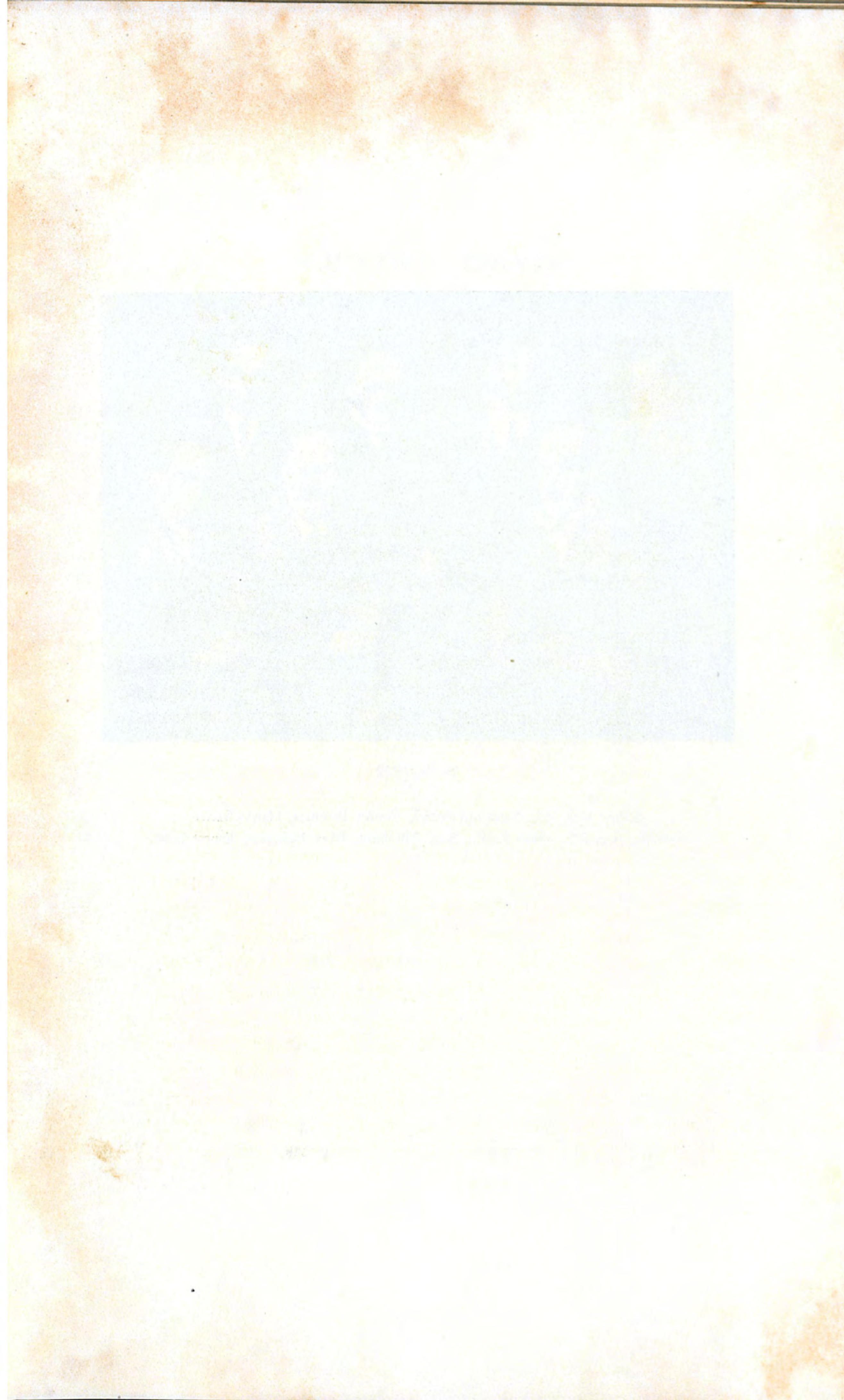
(דברי אזכרה שנשמעו במסבת־אבל במכון הארצישראלי לפסיכואנאליזה ביום 8 באוגוסט 1943)

התאספנו היום, זו הפעם הראשונה שלא בראשותו של מכס איטינגון לאחר עשר שנים של פעולתו בחברתנו הפסיכואנאליטית — כדי לכבד את זכרו. לפני 4 שבועות נפטר מאתנו — לאחר מלחמה עזה במוות, וגם כל חייו היו מלחמה עזה — לאמת חדשה ולידיעה חדשה של חיי הנפש של האדם.

במותו של מכס איטינגון עזב את שורותינו לוחם אמיץ למען הפסיכואנאליזה, אחד מהקבוצה הקטנה של אישים, אשר התרכזו מסביב לז. פרויד לפני 30 שנה ויותר, כדי לנהל יחד אתו את מלחמת הניצחון להתפתחותה של תורתו החדשה. הוא היה תלמיד נאמן לרבו, חבר מסור ונושא כלים אמיץ של מורנו הנערץ.

מכס איטינגון נולד בוארשה שברוסיה, בן למשפחה יהודית־רוסית עשירה, שלא היתה רחוקה מהיהדות המסורתית וגם מרעיונות התחיה היהודית הלאומית. בהיותו בן 12 שנה עזב את רוסיה והגיע ללייפציג, מקום בו גמר את לימודיו בגימנסיה. שאלת לימודיו הבאים היתה מסובכת יותר.

פרויד מספר על עצמו, כמה קשה היתה עליו שאלת בחירת הפאקולטה, שאלה שבהכרעתה תלוי היה כל מפעל חייו. הענין האישי היה מכוון למדעי הרוח, לשאלות היסוד המופשטות של החיים ושל נשמת האדם. אך רוח הזמן הוא שדחף את המחשבות לכיוון חדש, למיפנה לצד הלימוד המדודקדק של מדעי הטבע. זו היתה תקופת שיגשוגה של הביולוגיה, אשר חגגה את נצחונותיה הגדולים ביותר ושתגליותיה המפתיעות ורעיונותיה החדשים שלטו בכל. עוד צעד אחד — נראה היה — עוד התאמצות אחת — והנה החיים יגלו את סודותיהם למבטו החוקר ולמחשבתו של האדם, וכל תעלומות העולם הגדולות תמצאנה את פתרונן. קשה היה לעמוד בנסיון של השפעת המדע הצעיר הזה, שהצלחותיו היו כה מרובות. מה שמספר פרויד על עצמו נפל גם בחלקם של רבים מתלמידיו ועוזריו, וביניהם גם של מאכס איטינגון. וכך קרה שאיטינגון התחיל בהיידלברג את לימודיו בפילוסופיה והמשיך אותם באוניברסיטה במארבורג, מקום שם שמע את הרצאותיו של הפילוסוף





Berlin 1922

Sitting from left: Sigmund Freud, Sandor Ferenczi, Hanns Sachs
Standing from left: Otto Rank, Karl Abraham, Max Eitingon, Ernest Jones

SCIENTIFIC ESSAYS

Aus der Frühzeit der Psychoanalyse [a]

von

Max Eitingon

Jerusalem

Sie werden begreifen, dass wir ein grosses Beduerfnis haben, an Freuds Geburtstag ueber ihn und die Psychoanalyse zu reden. Es ist gleichsam dasselbe, was die Juden veranlasst, an jedem Pessach ueber den Auszug aus Aegypten zu reden unter der Devise „Sag es Deinem Sohne!". Es ist auch uns so, als seien wir im Jahre 1895 aus einem grossen Dunkel herausgezogen worden. Sie kennen die Situation der Psychologie, die fuer jene Zeit so charakteristisch war. Der so scharfsichtige Paul Julius Moebius hat sie so treffend bezeichnet, als er von der „Hoffnungslosigkeit aller Psychologien" sprach. Und mag man auch Gruende haben, daran zu zweifeln, ob der juedische Gesetzgeber Moses ein Jude war, mag man ihn auch fuer einen Aegypter halten, an dem Judentum unseres Moses, des Schoepfers unserer Psychologie, wird heute wohl keiner zweifeln. Wir wissen nicht, wie man in einigen hundert oder tausend Jahren darueber denken wird. Wir hier und heute sind stolz auf den Juden Freud und froh ueber ihn und koennten alle Hitler'schen Tat-Kommentare dazu gut entbehren.

Jetzt moechte ich Ihnen etwas aus der Fruehzeit der Psychoanalyse erzaehlen, von einem Besuch bei Freud Ende Januar 1907. Ich hatte Anfang 1905 in Zuerich die Analyse kennengelernt, mich damals von Beginn meines 6. medizinischen Semesters eingehend

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a) Vorgetragen zu Freuds 81. Geburtstag in der Chewrah Psychoanalytith b'Eretz Israel.

mit ihr beschaeftigt, in der damaligen siedendheissen Atmosphaere des Burghoelzli, der psychiatrischen Anstalt von Zuerich, zunaechst 2 Jahre mit ihrem Studium zugebracht; und unter Bleulers Fuehrung waren dort damals Jung, Ricklin, Abraham, Binswanger und Maeder; und nach etwa 2 Jahren stand brennend die Frage vor mir, wie mag wohl der merkwuerdige Mann aussehen, der die Psychoanalyse geschaffen hat. Sie wissen, was damals vorlag von Freuds Werken: die „Studien ueber Hysterie", „Die Traumdeutung", die erste Auflage der „Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens", und im Jahre 1905/6 waren die „Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie" erschienen, „Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten" und vor allem die damals so aufregende erste Krankengeschichte: die „Bruchstuecke einer Hysterieanalyse", der Fall Dora. Alles das hatten wir gelesen, miteinander diskutiert, unsere Traeume uns gegenseitig gedeutet, auch schon selbst zu analysieren begonnen. Man stiess in seinen Anfaengen neben heute ueberraschend erscheinenden Erfolgen auf grosse Schwierigkeiten; und einen solchen schweren Fall wollte ich Freud zeigen. Ich hatte Prof. Freud schon vorher vereinzelte Male geschrieben und bat nun, kommen zu duerfen. Die Antwort von Freud war sehr einladend, vielleicht weil ich der Erste gewesen zu sein scheine, der den unwiderstehlichen Drang verspuert hatte, den Mann persoenlich kennenzulernen, dessen Werk uns so aufregte.

Ich kam, wenn ich nicht irre, an einem Montag, suchte ihn in seiner Sprechstunde zwischen 3 und 4 Uhr auf, war zu verbluefft und erschuettert vom ersten Eindruck, zu sehr, um mir ein klares Bild von dem Manne zu machen, erinnere mich nur, dass er im schwarzen Gehrock ging, mit dunkelgebluemter hochgeschlossener Weste und eben jenem Gesicht, das alle kennen, die Freud damals oder spaeter gesehen haben, das sich auch seither nicht geaendert hat, obgleich sich der damals ergrauende Kopf inzwischen in einen silberweissen verwandelt hat. Er lud mich fuer den gleichen Abend ein und fuer den naechsten Abend, sprach von der schwierigen Lage der Analyse in der Welt, zuversichtlich ueber den Wert dessen,

was er geschaffen, und auch nicht ohne Bitterkeit ueber die damals gerade begonnene scharfe Stellungnahme der wissenschaftlichen Welt. Sie wissen, mit dem Erscheinen der „Dora" begann damals das Kesseltreiben gegen ihn. Die zwoelf Jahre frueher erschienenen „Studien ueber Hysterie" hatte man etwas lau, aber immerhin nicht ohne Freundlichkeit aufgenommen und „Die Traumdeutung" hielt man zunaechst fuer eine private Marotte von ihm, bis eben der Fall Dora gezeigt hatte, wie ernst er es damit meinte.

Am dritten Tag lud er mich in die Sitzung des Kreises der um ihn gescharten Psychoanalytiker ein, der einzige damals existierende psychoanalytische Kreis in der Welt, die Wiener Psychoanalytische Vereinigung. Die Sitzungen fanden in seinem Hause statt, in seinem Wartezimmer, in der klassischen Berggasse 19. Seine Behandlungsraeume lagen damals im Parterre. Erst zwei Jahre spaeter nahm er sie in die jetzigen Raeume, in der ersten Etage, hinauf. Seine sechs Kinder waren damals alle zu Hause.

Mit Herzklopfen betrat ich den Kreis, der etwa, ich weiss es nicht mehr genau, zwischen 20 und 25 Menschen betragen haben kann. Ich will Ihnen die hervorragendsten Namen jener Zeit nennen: Max Kahane, Meisler, Reitler, Stekel, Adler, Sadger. Rank war damals eben in den Kreis eingetreten, Wittels (New York) war damals dort. Er fiel uebrigens bald fuer ein paar Jahre heraus aus dem Kreis. Und als einziger, der jetzt noch zu unseren Reihen gehoert in illustrer Weise, war Federn schon da. Der Name Meisler wird Ihnen allen unbekannt sein. Das war ein sehr intelligenter und nachdenklicher Psychiater, der bald diesen Kreis verliess; Max Kahane ist der Uebersetzer des zweiten Bandes der Dienstag-Vorlesungen von Charcot, deren ersten Freud bekanntlich selbst uebersetzt hatte. Er verliess ebenfalls sehr bald dann diesen Kreis. Stekel, Adler und Rank kennen Sie ja gut. Reitler war ein interessanter aelterer Herr, der nicht sehr viel spaeter, glaube ich, dann starb.

Freud hatte mir freigestellt, dass ich alle Fragen stellen duerfe, die ich wolle, und er wuerde veranlassen, dass mir die ganze Ver-

sammlung antworte. Das geschah dort etwas anders als in unseren spaeteren Sitzungen, naemlich der Reihe nach musste sich jeder aeussern, und Freud selbst hatte als Letzter das Wort. Ich war zwei Abende dort, an jenem Mittwoch und in der folgenden Sitzung, am naechstkommenden Mittwoch. Ich hatte sozusagen die ganze Pathogenese durchgefragt, wie auch die Therapie (ich habe einen kleinen Notizblock ueber diese Sitzungen). Meine damaligen Fragen, in der damaligen Formulierung, liessen sich in drei zusammenfassen:

1. Was muss zu den spezifischen Mechanismen dazukommen, um eine Neurose zu schaffen?
2. Wogegen richtet sich die Therapie und wie geht sie vor?
3. Wie sieht der Patient nach vollfuehrter gelungener Analyse aus?

Ich werde einzelne Antworten der Mitglieder Ihnen vorbringen:

Federn: Einige Saetze waren mir besonders im Gedaechtnis geblieben. Schwerste Neurosen stammen aus ungluecklichen Ehen genau wie somatische Entartungsmerkmale. — Heilung: wenn es sich noch um junge lebensfaehige Menschen handelt, erzeugt Gefestigte gegen weiteres Erkranken.

Reitler: definiert die Hysterie als krankhaft gesteigerte Libido und starke Abwehr derselben.

Neurose: Negativ der Perversion. Aetiologie: Syphilis. In der Psychologie erhoehte Haftbarkeit unerlaesslich. Konstitutionelle Schwaeche der Sexualorgane; des Triebes nicht, daher Mehrschaetzung der anderen neuro-erogenen Zonen. Sozial ausloesende Momente koennen nur wirken durch assoziative Verknuepfungen mit Sexuellem.

Adler: betont die Organminderwertigkeit. Sein Buch war damals eben erschienen. Das Congenitale muesse beim neurotischen Prozess dazukommen, d. h. eben die Minderwertigkeit der Organe.

Die Inkongruenz der psychischen Zustaende.

Halluzinatorische Verstaerkungen.

Seine Schwaechen: Mangelhafte Introspektionen.

(Ich hatte mich schon damals gewundert, wo bleibt die Affektivitaet?)

Die Behandlung: Psychisches Training, wodurch die Introspektion des Patienten zunimmt.

Symptom: Frage, ob man sich gegen das Symptom wenden soll, da es nur „ein konzentrierter Zustand sei". Man solle einen Komplex durch einen anderen ersetzen; Ablenken auf Sport; bei Intelligenten auch psychologische Beschaeftigung, z. B. auf die Therapie nach Freud.

Rolle der Uebertragung: fraglich, ob darin ein anderes therapeutisches Agenz als nur das eines Vehikels, dem Patienten manches Unangenehme mundgerecht zu machen.

Heilbarkeit: Reine Faelle von Hysterie seien prinzipiell heilbar. (Es ist erstaunlich, wie bei Adler schon damals — ich habe dem schon oben Ausdruck gegeben — alles Affektive und besonders Unbewusste fehlte. Man koennte wirklich sagen, dass diesem liebenswuerdigen Herrn das Organ fuer das Unbewusste abging, so dass der Weg zur Individualpsychologie von Anfang an nicht sehr weit war).

Stekel: liess seinen ungewoehnlich grossen psychologischen Scharfsinn eigentlich ganz vermissen.

Von der Therapie meinte er, dass sie eigentlich persuasion sei. (Bedenken Sie, das war die Zeit der Bluete von Dubois). Und etwas hat er gesagt, was mir die ganzen Jahre einen sehr unangenehmen Nachgeschmack gab, so oft ich daran denke. Als ich naemlich in meiner damaligen jugendlichen Ueberbedenklichkeit fragte, ob denn wirklich alle wirkenden Momente unbewusst sein muessen, antwortete er: „Aber Herr Kollege, wie koennen Sie denn am Unbewussten auch nur im Geringsten zweifeln! Das muenzen wir doch in das Gold unserer Praxis um". Das war natuerlich schon echtester Stekel, naemlich mehr muenztechnisch als wissenschaftlich gemeint.

Sadger: Der damalige Sadger sah dem spaeteren schon zum Verwechseln aehnlich, haarig, spitz, irgendwie unangenehm, dabei schon damals eine Fuelle richtiger Dinge sagend.

Am Schluss kam *Freud.* So wie ich damals erschuettert war,

wuerden wir auch jetzt nicht aus dem Staunen herauskommen. Er wuerde jetzt nicht viel anders reden. Und doch war es damals ja noch vor der Ich-Psychologie.

Das Psycho-Sexuelle spiele deshalb eine so entscheidende Rolle, weil nichts so geeignet sei, die Beziehung von Physis und Psyche aufzuzeigen.

Disposition: besonders die psycho-sexuelle Konstitution.

Kriterien der Krankheit: nicht Intensitaet und nicht quantitative Steigerung, sondern die Topik der Symptome.

Der Fehler von Dubois sei die Verwischung der Unterschiede der Neurosen aus allzu praktischen Gruenden, zu engen therapeutischen Zwecken.

Fuer die Neurosenwahl entscheidend: 1. Zusammentreffen der psycho-sexuellen Konstitution mit andern psychischen Momenten; 2. Entwertung der Psycho-Sexualitaet, also manche Neurosen und Psychosen erklaerlich aus Rueckbildung aus den Zusammenfassungen der Sexualitaet zu deren Komponenten .(Unsere jetzigen Trieb-Entmischungen).

Zwangsneurose zur Perversion viel naeherstehend als Hysterie. Zwangsneurotiker ethisch sehr hochstehend. Moral aus sekundaerer Abwehr der Perversionen. Haeufigkeit der Zwangsneurose bei Juden. Auch die schoensten Zwangsneurosen sind bei den Juden zu finden. Juedische Religion eine Zwangsneurose durch viele Jahrhunderte vorbereitet.

Therapie: Nicht das Symptom will man beseitigen, weil das allein eigentlich unmoeglich. Absicht der Kur ist die Beseitigung der Widerstaende, der Verdraengung, die Aufhebung des Verdraengten, die Befreiung der Passage von Unbewusst und Bewusst.

Die Energie, die den Widerstand ueberwindet, ist die Uebertragung.

Und hier sprach Freud jenes merkwuerdige Wort, das so apokryph durch die analytischen Reihen geht und so oft durch den Mund derer, die es gebraucht haben, entwuerdigt wurde: "Das Geheimnis unseres Tuns sei, dass Heilung Heilung durch Liebe ist".

Ersetzung der Komplexe sei natuerlich nicht Ziel.

Das Gelingen der Aufloesung durch Uebertragung entscheidet ueber den Ausgang der Kur.

Die Unvollkommenheit der Technik ist der einzig bedeutsame Punkt.

Heute (d. h. damals) arbeiten wir unter denkbarst unguenstigen Bedingungen gegen den Widerstand der ganzen Welt, die naechsten Angehoerigen gegen uns, alle Autoritaeten gegen uns, eine riesige Antisuggestion.

Warum man nicht wieder krank werde, nach der Analyse und Heilung? Aus Erkenntnisgruenden — nein, weil nur das Unbewusste Symptome schafft. Weil das Verdraengte herausgeschafft ist und das Verdraengte das Anziehende ist. Das Verdraengte i. e. das Infantile. Das unbewusst gewordene Infantile macht Verdraengung moeglich; die Uebertragung ermoeglicht die Aufloesung des Verdraengten, Zurueckgedraengten.

Die Motive des Krankseins sind ein besonders wichtiges Kapitel und koennen *neue Schranken einer erfolgreichen Therapie bilden.*

Und dann kam am Schluss eines jener Worte von Freud, die man in die steinernen Geheimtafeln der Analyse einmeisseln muesste:

„Mit groesster *persoenlicher* Anstrengung koennte man vielleicht diese Schranken ueberwinden, aber man wuerde seine Haut dabei lassen".

Oft hat Freud in den folgenden Dezennien in manchem Gespraech dieses Wort variiert: „Man kann mehr in der Kur erreichen, aber dann muss man sich aus der eigenen Haut Riemen schneiden".

Unvergesslich ist mir diese erste Begegnung mit Freud, wie mir auch jede der spaeteren unvergesslich geblieben ist. Und daher auch das Beduerfnis, es mit Ihnen zu teilen.

Probleme der Lehranalyse

von

Anna Freud

London

Max Eitingon war durch mehr als dreissig Jahre ein unermuedlicher Arbeiter auf dem Gebiet des psychoanalytischen Unterrichts. Als Lehranalytiker, Kontrollanalytiker und Seminarleiter war er in direktem Kontakt mit vielen Jahrgaengen analytischer Ausbildungskandidaten. Als Gruender und Leiter des Berliner Psychoanalytischen Instituts war er bemueht, seine Ideen ueber Form und Gliederung des analytischen Lehrgangs in Wirklichkeit umzusetzen. Als Leiter des Instituts der Palaestinensischen Vereinigung hatte er Gelegenheit, das in Berlin Erprobte am neuen Ort noch einmal zu verwerten.

Von 1925 bis zu seinem Tode war Max Eitingon Vorsitzender der Internationalen Psychoanalytischen Unterrichtskommission und als solcher der Vertreter des Unterrichtswesens in der Internationalen Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung. Fragen der Befugnis zur Ausuebung der Lehranalyse, der Funktionen und Zusammensetzung der Lehrausschuesse in den Zweigvereinigungen und der Gruendung neuer Institute wurden unter seinem Vorsitz diskutiert und entschieden. Das wichtigste Thema der von ihm einberufenen Zusammenkuenfte der Unterrichtskommission auf den Kongressen der I.P.V. waren Vorschlaege zur Abaenderung, Erweiterung und fortschreitenden Systematisierung des analytischen Lehrgangs. Die Entwicklung des analytischen Unterrichtswesens von den bescheidenen Anfaengen einer privaten Abmachung zwischen zwei Individuen bis

zum formellen zwei- oder dreijaehrigen Lehrgang an oeffentlich anerkannten Lehrinstituten ist nicht zum mindesten der zielbewussten Arbeit Eitingons zu verdanken.

Die hier folgenden Ueberlegungen ueber Unterschiede zwischen Lehranalyse und therapeutischer Analyse gehoeren in den Interessenkreis Max Eitingons. Sie entstammen zum Teil einem unter seinem Vorsitz gehaltenen Referat bei einer Zusammenkunft der Internationalen Unterrichtskommission in Paris 1938.

UNTERSCHIEDE ZWISCHEN LEHRANALYSE UND THERAPEUTISCHER ANALYSE.

Die eigene Analyse des kuenftigen Analytikers gilt seit mehr als 20 Jahren als unerlaessliche Vorbedingung fuer die theoretische und praktische Ausbildung. Von dem Grad des Gelingens dieser Analyse haengt im allgemeinen das weitere persoenliche und wissenschaftliche Schicksal des jungen Analytikers ab. Der Ruf eines analytischen Institutes beruht darum berechtigter Weise weniger auf der Reichhaltigkeit seiner Kurse oder der Anziehungskraft seiner Dozenten als auf der Qualitaet und Erfahrung der dem Institut zur Verfuegung stehenden Lehranalytiker. Die Frage nach den Unterschieden zwischen therapeutischer Analyse und Lehranalyse wird gewoehnlich ablehnend beantwortet: die Lehranalyse will nichts anderes sein als eine mit der klassischen Technik durchgefuehrte Analyse am gesunden statt am kranken Objekt. Sie sollte darum im Grunde nicht schwerer durchzufuehren sein und nicht weniger nachhaltige Wirkungen haben als die therapeutische Analyse jedes Neurotikers. Technische Unterschiede zwischen therapeutischer und Lehranalyse waren darum bisher selten das Thema einer Diskussion.

AUFGABEN UND ABSICHTEN DER LEHRANALYSE.

Es ist erfahrungsgemaess nicht moeglich, sich aus der Lektuere psychoanalytischer Schriften eine Ueberzeugung von der Existenz und Wirkungsweise des Unbewussten zu holen. Nur die konsequente

Anwendung der analytischen Methode auf psychisches Material vermittelt Eindruecke dieser Art. Da die Situation zwischen Analytiker und Patient die Anwesenheit eines Dritten und damit die Moeglichkeit einer Demonstration von analytischem Krankenmaterial ausschliesst, ist fuer die Zwecke des Unterrichts der Lehranalysand selbst sein eigenes Studienobjekt. Der Lehranalysand erwirbt sich seine wissenschaftliche Ueberzeugung von der Gueltigkeit der analytischen Behauptungen am eigenen Leibe.

Gleichzeitig mit der Realitaet der psychischen Inhalte, die das Material fuer die Analyse abgeben, demonstriert die Lehranalyse auch die Wirksamkeit der psychoanalytischen Methode, mit der die unbewussten psychischen Inhalte bewusst gemacht werden. Der Lehranalysand erlebt in seiner eigenen Analyse passiv, auf sich selbst angewendet, die technischen Massnahmen, die er in der naechsten Phase seiner Ausbildung aktiv auf seine Patienten anwenden wird.

Es ist zu erwarten, dass der Lehranalysand zu Beginn seiner Analyse wenig Aufmerksamkeit fuer technische Vorgaenge aufbringt. Das Erleben der eigenen Analyse, das heisst das Wiederauftauchen verdraengter Erinnerungen, die Wiederkehr infantiler Einstellungen und die Erschuetterungen der Abwehrmechanismen sind schlecht vereinbar mit objektiver Beobachtung und methodischen Gesichtspunkten. Aber diese rein subjektive Hingabe des Lehranalysanden an das Erlebnis seiner Analyse beherrscht nicht ihre ganze Dauer. Mit dem Beginn der theoretischen Ausbildung und dem naechsten Schritt zur praktischen Arbeit an Patienten unter Kontrolle gehen subjektives Erlebnis und das Bemuehen, sich Rechenschaft ueber Vorgang, Methode und Technik der Analyse zu geben, unvermeidlich nebeneinander her. Die Art, wie der Lehranalytiker die analytische Methode handhabt, wird dadurch zum Beispiel und Vorbild fuer die Technik des Lehranalysanden.

Wichtiger als diese beiden erst geschilderten Aufgaben der Lehranalyse ist ihre dritte Funktion. Psychoanalytische Erfahrung zeigt, dass jeder Analytiker nur so weit im Verstaendnis des Ma-

terials seiner Patienten kommt wie im Verstaendnis des eigenen Unbewussten. Blinde Flecke fuer eigene unbewusste Fixierungen fuehren zur Blindheit im Erfassen aehnlicher Stoerungen am fremden Objekt. Nicht aufgehobene Verdraengungen im eigenen Innern stoeren die Objektivitaet des Analytikers und begrenzen seine Leistungsfaehigkeit. Die Angst vor der Wiederkehr des verdraengten Materials verwandelt sich in Abneigung gegen die Beschaeftigung mit demselben Material am fremden Objekt, eine Einstellung die gewoehnlich mit theoretischen Begruendungen rationalisiert wird. In diesem Punkt, mehr als in allen anderen, wird die Tiefe und Gruendlichkeit der eigenen Analyse entscheidend fuer die Qualitaet der spaeteren Arbeit des lernenden Analytikers.

Die Funktion der Lehranalyse ist also eine dreifache: Erlebnis des Unbewussten, Demonstration der Technik und Schaerfung des Blicks fuer das Unbewusste durch Arbeit an den eigenen Verdraengungen. Die letzte Funktion ist am ehesten mit der therapeutischen Arbeit am Neurotiker zu vergleichen. In den beiden anderen Funktionen gehen die Absichten der Lehranalyse ueber die therapeutische Funktion am neurotischen Patienten hinaus.

DAUER DER LEHRANALYSE. WIDERSTAND.

Optimistische Erwartungen, dass die Analyse des relativ Gesunden anders verlaufen wuerde als die des schweren Neurotikers, haben sich nicht erfuellt. Die Analyse der Widerstaende, durch die allein die Dauer einer Behandlung bestimmt wird, ist in den beiden Faellen wenig verschieden. Versuche, wie sie vor Systematisierung des analytischen Unterrichts oft gemacht wurden, eine Lehranalyse gespraechsweise oder in zwangslosen Zusammenkuenften durchzufuehren, bleiben unbefriedigend. Sie fuehren zur Umgehung der Widerstaende, nicht zu ihrer Aufloesung. Versuche, Lehranalysen mit theoretischen Unterweisungen zu vermengen, bringen nicht mehr zustande als ein intellektuelles Erlebnis und lassen die Affekte unberuehrt. Es genuegt auch in der Lehranalyse nicht, den analyti-

schen Prozess anzuregen und das Durcharbeiten des aufgetauchten Materials der Selbstanalyse zu ueberlassen; der relativ Gesunde ist seinen Widerstaenden nicht viel weniger ausgeliefert als der neurotisch Kranke.

UNTERSCHIED IN DEN BEWUSSTEN MOTIVEN ZUR MITARBEIT BEI DER ANALYSE.

Der Entschluss, die Analyse aufzusuchen, und die Mitarbeit bei ihrer Durchfuehrung beruhen in therapeutischer und Lehranalyse auf ganz verschiedenen Motiven. Der neurotische Patient will von seinem Leiden befreit werden, der relativ gesunde Lehranalysand kommt zur Analyse aus Gruenden der Berufswahl. Fuer den tatsaechlichen Verlauf des analytischen Prozesses kommt dieser Unterschied der bewussten Motive aber kaum in Betracht. Je weiter die Analyse fortschreitet, desto mehr verlieren die bewussten Motive an Bedeutung neben den unbewussten Motiven, die den Analysanden zur Analyse draengen oder von ihrer Fortsetzung abhalten wollen. Das Leidensmotiv des Neurotikers mag affektiv das staerkere sein; trotzdem zeigt sich in schwierigen Phasen der Analyse das Lernmotiv des Ausbildungskandidaten als das verlaesslichere. Es kommt selten vor, dass ein Lehranalysand unter dem Druck von Widerstaenden die Analyse abbricht, was sich etwa beim agierenden Neurotiker haeufig genug ereignet.

UNTERSCHIEDE IN DER AUFDECKUNG DES UNBEWUSSTEN MATERIALS.

Die Aufdeckung des unbewussten Materials ist beim relativ gesunden Analysanden oft schwerer als beim neurotischen Patienten. Der relativ Gesunde hat ein Gleichgewicht zwischen seinen psychischen Instanzen zustande gebracht, das auf gegglueckten Verdraengungen, stabilen Abwehrformen und ichgerechten Konfliktloesungen beruht. Viele dieser Leistungen muessen rueckgaengig gemacht werden, um das in ihnen verarbeitete psychische Material zum Be-

wusstsein zu bringen. Fuer den Lehranalysanden bedeutet darum — wie besonders Ferenczi hervorgehoben hat — die analytische Arbeit eine Stoerung der muehsam erworbenen psychischen Gesundheit, gegen die sein Ich sich mit energischen Widerstaenden wehrt.

Beim neurotisch Kranken ist die Situation, die die Analyse vorfindet, eine andere. Der Neurotiker fuehlt sich in seinem Ich bedroht durch die Wiederkehr verdraengten Materials nach dem Missgluecken von Verdraengungen und dem Zerfall von Abwehrmechanismen (besonders der Reaktionsbildungen). Sein innerpsychisches Gleichgewicht ist nur durch Kompromissbildungen (die Symptome) in Schwebe gehalten, unter denen sein Ich leidet. Der Bemuehung des Analytikers, das verdraengte Material zum Bewusstsein zu heben, kommt unter diesen Umstaenden ein staendiger spontaner Auftrieb der unbefriedigten unbewussten Regungen zu Hilfe. Das durch die Neurose geschwaechte und gespaltene Ich kann trotz seiner Angst vor dem Wiederauftauchen des Verdraengten der Analyse weniger energischen Widerstand leisten als das Ich des Gesunden.

UNTERSCHIEDE IN DEN ES-WIDERSTAENDEN.

Je schwerer die neurotische Erkrankung ist, desto staerker sind die Triebregungen an ihre abnormen Ablaufbahnen und ihre durch Regression erniedrigten Triebziele gebunden. Die konservative Natur der Triebe, die ihnen innewohnende Neigung, einmal eingeschlagene Ablaufrichtungen beizubehalten, machen sich in der Analyse noch lange nach Aufdeckung des unbewussten Materials als Widerstand des Es fuehlbar. Diese Es-Widerstaende werden erst in der langdauernden Phase des Durcharbeitens allmaehlich ueberwunden. Das Durcharbeiten dauert umso laenger, je weiter das Triebleben sich von der Norm entfernt hat, beim schweren Neurotiker also entsprechend laenger als beim relativ Gesunden.

VERSCHIEBUNG IM AKZENT DER WIDERSTANDSANALYSE.

Soweit Ich- und Es-Widerstaende in Betracht kommen, finden wir also beim Vergleich zwischen Lehranalyse und therapeutischer Analyse nur eine Verschiebung des Akzents. In der Lehranalyse des relativ Gesunden ist das Bewusstmachen des durch die Staerke der Ich-Widerstaende schwer zugaenglichen Unbewussten das schwierigste Stueck der Arbeit; in der Analyse des schwer Neurotischen liegt infolge seines zaehen Festhaltens am abnormen Triebvorgang das Hauptgewicht der Arbeit auf der Phase des Durcharbeitens.

UNTERSCHIEDE IN DER ANALYSE DER UEBERTRAGUNG.

Weitgehendere Abweichungen der Lehranalyse vom gewoehnlichen analytischen Vorgang finden sich auf dem Gebiet der Uebertragung.

DIE HERSTELLUNG UND DEUTUNG DER UEBERTRAGUNG IN DER THERAPEUTISCHEN ANALYSE.

Die Gefuehlsbeziehungen des Neurotikers sind an die Liebesobjekte seines infantilen Lebens und an die Phantasien der praeoedipalen and oedipalen Phase fixiert. Seine scheinbar starken Bindungen an Personen der realen Aussenwelt sind in Wirklichkeit nur Spiegelungen der Vergangenheit, seine stuermischen positiven und negativen Gefuehlsregungen nur zwanghafte Wiederholungen infantiler Einstellungen. Je staerker der aus der Vergangenheit wirkende komplexbedingte Zwang ist, desto mehr wird das aktuelle Liebesobjekt in eine fertige, von den verdraengten infantilen Phantasien vorgezeichnete Rolle gezwungen. Mit dem Eintritt des Neurotikers in die Analyse vermindert sich die Bedeutung seiner aktuellen Objekte, seine Phantasien, infantilen Wunschregungen, Liebes- und Hassgefuehle zentrieren sich um die Person des Analytikers und erzeugen das Bild der sogenannten Uebertragungsneurose.

Die psychoanalytische Erfahrung lehrt, dass die volle Verwertung der Uebertragungsreaktionen des neurotischen Patienten nur unter bestimmten, sorgfaeltig eingehaltenen Bedingungen vor sich geht. In den vor-analytischen Objektbeziehungen der Neurotiker sind phantastische, aus der Vergangenheit mitgebrachte und reale, von der Gegenwart abhaengige Elemente so untrennbar untereinander vermengt, dass sie fuer die Erforschung der Vergangenheit nichts leisten. Die analytische Technik schreibt darum dem Analytiker vor, als reale Person schattenhaft zu bleiben. Er soll vor der Analyse keine freundschaftlichen oder beruflichen Beziehungen mit dem Patienten unterhalten haben und waehrend der Analyse die Einzelheiten seines persoenlichen Lebens von dem Patienten fernhalten. Je weniger Elemente er selbst fuer das Bild liefert, das der Patient von ihm herstellt, desto deutlicher spiegeln sich in diesem Bild die Imagines der vergessenen Objekte der Vergangenheit. Der Patient verlangt in der Uebertragungsbeziehung, dass der Analytiker mit Ratschlaegen und realen Hilfeleistungen in sein Leben eingreift, wie die Eltern es in der Vergangenheit getan haben. Er liebt oder hasst den Analytiker in Wiederholung vergangener Gefuehle, entwickelt Eifersucht auf Grund vergessener Rivalitaeten, unterordnet sich dem Analytiker oder lehnt sich gegen ihn auf wie seinerzeit gegen den Vater, identifiziert sich mit ihm und setzt sein Bild an die Stelle seines eigenen Ich-Ideals. Der Analytiker hat die Aufgabe, keine dieser Regungen durch eigene Aktivitaet zu provozieren, nicht auf sie zu reagieren, sie nicht fuer reale Zwecke zu benuetzen, sie nur an seiner Person ablaufen zu lassen, um ein moeglichst vollstaendiges Bild der verdraengten infantilen Vorgeschichte daraus zu rekonstruieren. Je besser es ihm gelingt, die Uebertragungsneurose des Patienten von realen Beimischungen freizuhalten, desto tiefere Schichten des Unbewussten wird er durch ihre Deutung aufdecken koennen.

DIE HERSTELLUNG UND DEUTUNG DER UEBERTRAGUNG IN DER LEHRANALYSE.

Wir sind uns im allgemeinen nicht klar genug darueber, in welchen Punkten die Herstellung und Handhabung der Uebertragung in der Lehranalyse von dem geschilderten Vorgang abweicht und welche Konsequenzen fuer den Erfolg der analytischen Bemuehung sich dadurch ergeben.

DIE UEBERTRAGUNGSNEUROSE DES LEHRANALYSANDEN.

Je neurotisch gesuender der Lehranalysand ist, desto zoegernder entwickeln sich seine Uebertragungsreaktionen; je normaler seine Gefuehlsbeziehungen sind, desto staerker haften sie auch an den realen Objekten seiner Gegenwart. Erst wenn die Analyse weit genug fortgeschritten ist, um Verdraengungen zu lockern, Abwehrmechanismen zu erschuettern und die infantile Phantasiewelt wieder aufleben zu lassen, stellt sich die der Uebertragungsneurose des Neurotikers analoge Situation her. Beim relativ gesunden Lehranalysanden erzeugt also erst die Analyse selbst die Uebertragungsbereitschaft, die der neurotische Patient von vornherein in die Behandlung mitbringt.

HANDHABUNG DER UEBERTRAGUNG IN DER LEHRANALYSE.

Aber auch nach Herstellung der Uebertragung befindet sich der Lehranalysand nicht in einer der therapeutischen Analyse analogen Situation. Sein Lehranalytiker, weit davon entfernt eine schattenhafte Figur zu sein, spielt eine entscheidende reale Rolle in seinem Leben.

DER LEHRANALYTIKER ALS REALE FIGUR.

In den meisten Faellen ist der Lehranalytiker fuer seinen Analysanden kein Unbekannter. Wer sich die Berechtigung zur Aus-

uebung der Lehranalyse erwirbt, hat im allgemeinen in seinem Beruf einen Namen, der auch dem Ausbildungskandidaten nicht fremd ist, ja der vielleicht den Kandidaten bestimmt hat, gerade diese Person zum Analytiker zu waehlen. Der Lehranalytiker mag Arbeiten veroeffentlicht haben, die der Analysand gelesen hat oder deren Lektuere ihm waehrend seiner Analyse offen steht. Der Analysand ist auf diese Art ueber den beruflichen Rang seines Analytikers orientiert, hat ein Urteil ueber seine wissenschaftlichen Faehigkeiten, kennt seine Lehrmeinungen und seine positiven oder negativen Beziehungen zu anderen Autoren auf demselben Wissensgebiet. Wo es sich um einen allgemein angesehenen Analytiker handelt, ist es fuer den Analysanden auch nicht schwer, seine Lebensumstaende, Familienbeziehungen, Charaktereigenschaften etz. zu erfahren. Diese realen Elemente aus der Wirklichkeit des Lehranalytikers vermischen sich in der Analyse mit den aus der Vergangenheit des Analysanden uebertragenen Zuegen und erschweren die Deutung.

DER LEHRANALYTIKER ALS URTEILENDE INSTANZ.

In vielen Lehrinstituten der Internationalen Psychoanalytischen Vereinigung entscheidet der Unterrichtsausschuss nur ueber die vorlaeufige Zulassung von Bewerbern zur analytischen Ausbildung. Die endgueltige Entscheidung ueber die Aufnahme eines Kandidaten bleibt dem Lehranalytiker ueberlassen, der sein Urteil nach mehrmonatlicher Analyse dem Unterrichtsausschuss mitteilt und begruendet. Der Lehranalytiker entscheidet in derselben Weise ueber die Zulassung seines Analysanden zu den naechsten Phasen des theoretischen und praktischen Lehrgangs. Bei der endlichen Approbierung des Kandidaten nach absolviertem Lehrgang hat der Lehranalytiker zumindest eine wichtige Stimme neben den Stimmen anderer Dozenten. Die Zufriedenheit des Lehranalytikers mit seinem Analysanden hat also praktische positive Folgen, seine Missbilligung und Unzufriedenheit reale negative Konsequenzen. Das heisst, der Lehr-

analytiker uebt in der Realitaet dieselbe urteilende, richtende Funktion aus, die ihm der Analysand aus der Uebertragung der Elternbeziehung in der Phantasie zuzuschreiben geneigt ist.

UEBERTRAGUNG DER INFANTILEN FAMILIENBEZIEHUNGEN. EIFERSUCHT.

Mit der Wiederbelebung infantiler Einstellungen spielt in jeder Analyse die Uebertragung der Geschwistereifersucht eine Rolle. In der therapeutischen Analyse genuegen die geringsten Anlaesse (Begegnung mit einem sonst unbekannten Patienten auf der Treppe, im Wartezimmer), um alte Gefuehle von Zuruecksetzung, Hass auf bevorzugte Rivalen, Todeswuensche etz. zum Aufflammen zu bringen. In der Situation der Lehranalyse sind diese Rivalen, auf die der Geschwisterhass uebertragen wird, dem Analysanden in der Wirklichkeit vertraute, selbst agierende Personen. Lehranalysanden desselben Lehranalytikers benehmen sich in der Uebertragung wie Geschwister, die sich aneinander messen, sich gegenseitig herabsetzen oder uebertreffen wollen, sich gegenseitig um angebliche Bevorzugung durch Vater oder Mutter beneiden, sich unter Umstaenden gegen Vater oder Mutter verbuenden etz. Das Ausleben der Geschwisteruebertragung wird unter diesen Umstaenden fuer den Analysanden bedeutungsvoller als die Deutung des in ihr wiedergekehrten infantilen Materials.

UEBERTRAGUNG DER INFANTILEN NEUGIERDE. BEOBACHTUNG DER ELTERN.

Die Uebertragung der infantilen Sexualneugierde von den Elternpersonen auf den Analytiker macht den Analysanden unersaettlich im Aufspueren immer neuer persoenlicher Einzelheiten. In der korrekten technischen Situation der therapeutischen Analyse fuehrt dieses Bemuehen zum Wuchern der Phantasie und liefert wertvolles Material, besonders in Bezug auf die infantilen Sexualtheo-

rien. Das Wissen des Lehranalysanden um die Lebensumstaende seines Analytikers wirkt hemmend auf die Phantasietaetigkeit oder stoert zumindest ihre Verwertbarkeit fuer analytische Deutung.

Eine spezielle Form der Elternbeobachtung (Koitusbeobachtung, Neugierde auf die Beziehung von Vater und Mutter zu einander) uebertraegt sich in die Lehranalyse als neugieriges Interesse an den Beziehungen der Analytiker unter einander. Wo im infantilen Leben Uneinigkeit zwischen den Eltern geherrscht hat, und das Kind bald fuer den einen, bald fuer den anderen Elternteil Partei ergriffen hat, entwickelt der Analysand ein leidenschaftliches Interesse an allen unter den lehrenden Analytikern vorhandenen Unstimmigkeiten mit Parteinahme fuer oder gegen seinen Analytiker. Wo die aeusseren Ereignisse diese Uebertragung einer infantilen Einstellung auf die Gegenwart foerdern, ist aber fuer den Analysanden der Wiederholungscharakter und damit die Deutung seines Benehmens nicht ueberzeugend.

DER LEHRANALYTIKER ALS AUTORITAERE FIGUR. UNTERORDNUNG UND AUFLEHNUNG.

In der therapeutischen Analyse wechseln Phasen einer bis zur Hoerigkeit gehenden Gefuegigkeit des Patienten mit Phasen von Kritik und Auflehnung ab. In der positiven Uebertragung ist der Patient fuer Deutungen zugaenglich, von der therapeutischen Wirksamkeit der Analyse ueberzeugt, voll dankbarer Anerkennung fuer die Bemuehungen des Analytikers etz. In der negativen Uebertragung setzt er die Analyse herab, greift begierig abfaellige Urteile anderer ueber die analytische Therapie auf, fuehlt sich von seinem Analytiker ausgenuetzt, empfindet die analytische Stunde als Zwang etz. Das gleichbleibende reale Verhalten des Analytikers charakterisiert dieses Schwanken zwischen positiven und negativen Gefuehlen fuer ihn als Wiederkehr der infantilen Liebes- und Hassregungen, die erst in ihrer Gesamtheit das volle Abbild der Beziehung des Kindes zu den Eltern ergeben.

In der Lehranalyse, insbesondere in der Phase der theoretischen und praktischen Ausbildung, erscheinen dieselben affektiven Reaktionen in die Form von schwankenden theoretischen Ueberzeugungen gekleidet. Der Analysand, der die Lehrmeinungen seines Lehranalytikers kennt, teilt und verteidigt sie mit scheinbar objektiven Argumenten in den positiven Phasen der Uebertragung, um sie in den negativen Phasen mit scheinbar objektiven Argumenten anzugreifen. Infantile Liebe und infantiler Hass verwandeln sich auf diese Weise in mehr oder weniger gut rationalisierte theoretische Meinungen, die nicht immer leicht und fuer den Analysanden nicht immer ueberzeugend in die in ihnen ausgedrueckten infantilen Beziehungen zurueckzuverwandeln sind.

DER LEHRANALYTIKER ALS OBJEKT DER IDENTIFIZIERUNG.

Jeder in Behandlung befindliche analytische Patient bildet zu irgendeiner Zeit seiner Analyse die Phantasie, selbst Analytiker zu werden. Der Patient wiederholt in dieser Form alte Identifizierungseinstellungen zu den Eltern, die der Objektbeziehung zu diesen wichtigsten Personen der Kindheit entweder vorausgegangen sind oder sie abgeloest haben. Der Patient ist in dieser Phase der Analyse bereit, seine eigenen in die Analyse mitgebrachten Berufsinteressen oder Zukunftsplaene aufzugeben und sie gegen die Berufsinteressen seines Analytikers einzutauschen. Im technisch korrekten analytischen Vorgang entpuppt sich dieser scheinbar real angepasste aktuelle Vorsatz als infantile Wunschphantasie aus dem Zusammenhang der Vaterbeziehung. Es ist ein Erfolg der Analyse, wenn der Patient sich durch Deutung wieder von dieser Identifizierung befreit, sie als irreal und affektiv bedingt durchschaut und imstande ist, sich wieder seinen eigenen Lebensinteressen zuzuwenden.

Der Ausgang der Analyse in Identifizierung mit dem Analytiker, der in der therapeutischen Analyse eine der wichtigsten, durch Deutung aufzuloesenden Uebertragungsschwierigkeiten darstellt, vollzieht sich in der Lehranalyse in Wirklichkeit. Infantile Phan-

tasie und reale Berufswahl decken sich und vermengen ihre Elemente untereinander. Der analytische Patient gewinnt am Ende seiner geglueckten therapeutischen Analyse seine Selbstaendigkeit zurueck, loest seine Uebertragungsneurose auf und trennt sein Schicksal von dem seines Analytikers. Der Ausbildungskandidat am Ende seiner Lehranalyse verbindet sein Schicksal mit dem der Analyse, er wird zum Kollegen, haeufig zum Mitarbeiter seines Analytikers. Inwieweit dieser letzte Schritt auf Grund der Aufloesung der Uebertragung geschieht, und inwieweit sich noch ungeloeste Uebertragung in ihm auslebt, ist nicht immer leicht zu unterscheiden.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG.

Im technischen Verhalten des therapeutischen Analytikers wuerde es als Kunstfehler gelten, wenn er Patienten aus seinem engeren Kreis zur Behandlung uebernehmen, seine Interessen mit ihnen teilen, seine Ansichten mit ihnen oder in ihrer Gegenwart diskutieren wuerde; wenn er sich verleiten liesse, ihr Verhalten kritisch zu beurteilen, mit anderen zu bereden, und reale Konsequenzen aus seinem Urteil abzuleiten; wenn er aktiv in das Leben seines Patienten eingreifen, sich ihm als Vorbild anbieten und ihm am Ende der Analyse die Identifizierung mit seiner Person und seiner Berufstaetigkeit gestatten wuerde. Der Lehranalytiker begeht tatsaechlich jeden einzelnen dieser Kunstfehler im Rahmen der analytischen Ausbildungssituation. Es bleibt eine offene Frage, wie weit die Uebertragungssituation des Lehranalysanden durch dieses im technischen Sinne abwechselnde Vorgehen erschwert, kompliziert und fuer die Deutung undurchsichtiger gemacht wird.

Es ist eine in der analytischen Bewegung immer wieder auftauchende Klage, dass die Analyse des kuenftigen Analytikers ihren therapeutischen Zweck weniger gut erfuellt als die Analyse jedes neurotischen Patienten. Viele Analytiker leiden an ungeloesten infantilen Einstellungen, durch die sie in ihren affektiven Beziehungen zur Umwelt gestoert sind, oder an unaufgeloesten Ueber-

tragungsbindungen an ihren Lehranalytiker, die ihre wissenschaftliche Einstellung beeinflussen. Sie bleiben in Abhaengigkeit von ihrem Lehranalytiker oder sagen sich in heftigem Straeuben gegen die ungeloeste positive Beziehung mit laermenden negativen, oft theoretisch rationalisierten Aeusserungen von ihm los. Es waere der Muehe wert, an individuellen Faellen aufzuzeigen, in welchen Punkten die durch die Lehrsituation erzwungene, technisch abweichende Handhabung der Uebertragung die Analyse der Uebertragung und damit den analytischen Erfolg als solchen geschaedigt oder zumindest in Frage gestellt hat.

Saint Christopher, Patron Saint of the motor-car drivers

by
Marie Bonaparte
Paris

I had long been wondering why St. Christopher had become the patron saint of motor-car drivers. The small medals which, in almost every car, pictured the athletic-looking saint, carrying on his shoulders the infant saviour of the world, each time my eyes gazed on them whilst driving along in one car or another, each time questioned my fancy; but I could find no answer to satisfy my curiosity.

If I mentioned this little problem to any one else, the people addressed generally rebuked my question rather impatiently. "Why, said they, St. Christopher passed the infant Jesus over the foaming waters. No wonder he is considered as a protector, warding off dangers of the road." Or more simply still people answered that St. Christopher had been chosen as any other saint might have been. There was no problem there!

This last answer reminded me of the explanation many people give of our nightmares. "Why, you have eaten something difficult to digest...". As this last explanation does not account for the content of each particular nightmare, so the answer after which any saint might have been elected as patron saint of the motor-car drivers did not account for the election, as such, of St. Christopher in particular.

* * *

One day, in Athens, I was invited to visit the Museum of popular Byzantine art. We were led through the different rooms, admired the icons brought there from the chapels from the different villages from the continent or the islands, and finally arrived in the room where the most popular pictures of saints were exposed. They were roughly painted pictures, often resembling the figurations drawn or painted by children. And suddenly I was confronted by two or three small painted wood panels, from the island of Crete. They represented a sort of giant, towering above meadows, fields, mountains, whose head, curiously enough, was that of a big dog. I asked who he was. They told me he was St. Christopher, and that in the Orient, such were the first figurations of this saint. No little Jesus on his back! No crossing of foaming torrents; only this gigantic stature and this dog's head.

And suddenly the understanding of St. Christopher, patron saint of the motor-car drivers, flashed through my head. The Christian saint must have been some new edition of the Egyptian jackal headed god Anubis. But other occupations prevented me by then to pursue my researches. And the second world war soon broke out, and it is only now, in the relative quietness of our Cape residence, that I was able to resume this little mythological research.

* * *

In the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (11), which I was able to consult at the Cape Municipal Library, the Christopher article reads as follows: —

"*Christopher, St.* (*Χριστοφόρος,* Christophorus, Christoforus, Christoferus, Christofanus, etc., Christóbal, Christophle, Kester, Kitt, Chrisdaphor).

"A martyr of universal fame. He was baptized by St. Babylas, the martyr-bishop of Antioch, and about the year 250 suffered under Decius in Lycia. From early times down to the current edition of Acta Sanctorum, the untrustworthy character of some popular

stories related to him has been declared. Usuard (A.D. 876) thus commemorated him (25th July) after St. James, according to the common Western use (a), in his Martyrologium. "At Samos in Licia. After he had been scourged with iron rods, and then delivered from the broiling flames by the virtue of Christ, his head was at last severed from his body, which had fallen full of arrow-wounds, and the martyr's witness was complete."

"In the Greek Church, St. Christopher is commemorated 9th May (in company with the prophet Isaiah, who is called ὁ Θεοφόρος ἀνήρ by Theodoret IV, 968), with this troparion (4th tone) in the Uniate New Anthology of Arcudius, "With the head of a dog, noble in faith, and fervent in prayer, as a soldier of Christ thou didst endure torments; at thee the powers of heaven were astonished, thee the King of idols wounded, Christopher of golden name, wherefore solemnly entreat (δυσώπει) the Lord for us."

"The saint's cynocephalism however, had been repudiated long before in the Menology of Basil II (A.D. 984). "Some marvellous and miraculous relations concerning this saint are current in some quarters; as that he was a dog-headed man-eater, until he was metamorphosed at his conversion. This is not the fact, only some supposed him such because he was a heathen wild and grim. Howbeit he lived in the reign of Decius; and being taken in battle by the Comes, he was not able to speak Greek; he prayed to God, and an angel was sent unto him, saying: "Play the man"; and he touched his lips, and gave him power to speak Greek. So he entered into the city and began to preach Christ. And when soldiers are sent out to take him, and his staff put forth buds, they believed Christ, and are baptized with him at Antioch by St. Babylas, at which time he received his name Christopher. Afterward, being brought before the Emperor, he was first tried with diverse torments, and at the last beheaded."

a) There was a monastery and basilica dedicated in his name on the bank of the Guadalquivir, standing in A. D. 852 (St. Eulogius, Mem. Sanc. II, IV, XI).

"In a Latin poem, Gualt Spirensis, subdeacon, gives the Western version of the same date ("983, vel paullo serius"). He devotes five books out of six, and a corresponding prose narrative, to his arts: dwelling upon his miraculous baptism by a cloud after a catechetical instruction from heaven, attested by the budding of his club. His Gentile name Reprobus, Canaanitish origin, conversion of multitudes and of the harlots, Nicea or Galonica, and Aquilina, sent to tempt him in prison by the blustering tyrant Dagnus, the great iron chair, the arrows, and axe of martyrdom, and the healing of his persecutor's sight are detailed. The story of his dog's head is apologised for, but there is not the slightest allusion to the beautiful modern legend, which is ignored (though he could hardly have been ignorant of it), by Surius, as late as 1573.

"The Mozarabic Missal and Breviary (saecl. VII-XVI) represent the opinion of Toledo, where his relics once rested, in a very simple form. The hymn and the missal speak of Decius Imperator trying to secure the strong man for his army; of Christopher's mouth being miraculously opened; of his providing food for the soldiers (in later times developed into a miracle) who cast in their lot with him. His name was given him at baptism "quia Christum indutus." The missal alludes also to his being tempted (but see Aquilina), and mentions the amelioration of his visage after baptism. The legend is found in a similar short form in the 33rd sermon of St. Peter Damian (on the festival of the saint), A.D. 1072, and in England as late as the 12th century, Ms. Passionales (where, however, Dagnus, Nicea, and Aquilina, appear); but in the following century there are traces of the adoption as history of what art devised as allegory, and what was explained allegorically by Vida, bishop of Alba, in the 16th century. An 11th century column, capital, preserved in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and a 12th century window in the south transept of Strasburg Cathedral are mentioned by Guénebault as representing St. Christopher, and very early in the 14th century Simon Memmi, of Sienna, painted in a series of saints, a figure holding a flowering staff, walking in, or on, water between two

rocks, and bearing the Holy Child astride his neck; a head in one corner may be intended to foreshadow his decollation.

"Before that time James de Voragine, bishop of Genua, when compiling his *Legenda Aurea,* found "in quibusdam gestis", in addition to a development of the earlier history, an allegorical tale of the heathen giant Reprobus (b) in a Search after the Stronger-than-he, quitting the service of the King of Canaan, who feared the name of Satan, of Satan who feared the Cross, and taking up with a hermit who taught him to serve the Strongest in the charitable work of fording wayfarers across the water, for the giant had neither the gift of fasting nor the conception of prayer. One night a child insisted on being carried over, and in midwater Reprobus felt his strong knees failing beneath the weight of Him by whom all things were made. By-and-by he apprehends the precious yoke, and finds the burden light. At dawn he has the token of his staff budding, wanders to "Samos of Licea", Dagnus, and so on with the older legend.

"It is easy now to recognise in this a sort of rebus on the saint's name. The etymological note stating that he was called Christopher because he carried Christ in four ways, "in humeris per traductionem, in corpore per macerationem, in mente per devotionem, in ore per professionem sive predicationem", not found in a MS. of the 123 legends written in 1299, a year after the compiler's death, occurs (as does the Missal extract (Ambrosius in Prefatione), in later Mss and printed editions, with the 177 legends".

"From this period the cultus of the saint was yet more popular than before, not only in Spain and Italy, but in France. A colossal wooden figure, erected in Notre Dame by Antoine des Essars in 1413, and destroyed in 1785, is mentioned by Sir T. Browne; the pictures by Memling (1484) and Duerer (1521) are noteworthy. In Western art the van Eyck's great Adoration of the Immaculate

b) 'Adocimus': *alias* 'Onuphrius', 'Oneferus', and even the perversely ingenious 'Oferus'.

Lamb (1432) is almost alone in representing St. Christopher without our Lord on his shoulders, but the simplicity and general intention of the picture would here have been marred by the more popular treatment. The Roman service books provide a proper collect of lauds only, the rest from the common martyrs. The Parisian particularise a little more — an alternative ninth lesson, merely mentioning a church and convent of his dedication. His popularity must have been increased by the superstition which is to be found expressed, e.g. on the much-vexed Spencer print of (or copied from some work of art of) 1423.

"Christofori faciem die quacunque tueris.
Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris."

"In many English churches painted windows and wall-paintings are preserved; a colossal pulpit in Salisbury museum. Chaucer's yeoman wore a silver medal of the saint, whose aid was commonly invoked here against storms (Hom. *On Peril of Idolatry,* III A.D. 1562-3). In the Sarum use he is commemorated (with Cucufas on St. James's day) by a special memorial at 1st vespers, matins, and mass, and his name in the litany on Fridays in Lent. In 1492 and later editions of the missal a supplemental mass is printed, containing a reference to the latter legend.

"Hone (*Every-day book*) mentions that the flower *Actaea spicata* is dedicted to him, and called *Herb Christopher.* A synagogue of Jews at Valencia told Vincent Ferrier (A.D. 1357-1413) that they had been cenverted by a vision of St. Christopher on July 10, and observed that day in his honour (Mazeri).

Christophorus (*Χριστοφόρος, Christigerulus, not Χριστόφορος a Christogestu*), probably became a baptismal name very early. It was a title for Christians with such idea as St. Matt. XI, 29, 30; 2 Corr. IV, 10, VI, 16; and with a special reference to Communion. Suicer refers to Phileas ap. Euseb. H.E. VIII, 10,3; and passages in Chrysostom, comparing *ο Θεοφόρος* the name of Ignatius. In one place (*Martyrium Ign.* V. Ruinart, pp. 13, 705), that apostolic martyr is actually called Christopher instead of the commoner Deifer."

In Baring Gould's *Lives of the Saints* (9), I could find this summary of the oriental version of the Christopher legend:

"St. Christopher M. (3d Cent.).

"The following story seems to be destitute of every element of truth; though it is possible that there may have been a martyr of the name of Christopher. The statement that he suffered under Decius, and had been baptized by S. Babylas at Antioch, made in the Greek Menaea and Menology is perhaps founded on a more trustworthy tradition than the fabulous Acts; but the Menology of Basil says: — "Many monstrous and paradoxical things are related of this saint — that he had a dog's head, and ate men; but that when he believed in Christ, he was transformed;" — so that a version of the fabulous Acts existed in the time of Basil II. The story has the appearance of a clumsy and stupid compilation of incidents from Holy Writ — Dagon falling before the Arch, Ahab's soldiers sent to take Elijah, Samson, etc. and the Egyptian figures of Anubis. Some of the pagan romancists, Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, for instance, became Christians, and bishops, and may have exercised their pens in the composition of Christian romances or novelettes, and may have taken real martyrs as their heroes, though altering the facts, and thus have originated such tales as the Acts of St. Margaret, S. Procopius, S. Christina and S. George. But other stories were of heroes as purely imaginary as Theagenes and Chitophon, Anthia and Leucippe, of late Greek profane romance. To this latter class there is strong probability that S. Christopher belongs. The story shall speak for itself.

"In the days of King Dagon, who ruled in Samos, there was a man of the Cynocephali, who was instructed out of heaven in the faith, and a cloud came down out of the sky and baptized him, a voice from heaven uttering the necessary sacramental words. Then this man went into Syria, to Samos, and stood with an iron staff in his hand at the entrance of the city. Now a certain woman came out to adore her idols, when seeing a man with a dog's head, she ran back and told the people to come and see the marvel — for,

as has been said, Christopher belonged to the race of the Cynocephali, or dog-headed men (c). And when a crowd was assembled round him, Christopher prayed that a sign might be given to convert the people, and he planted his iron staff in the ground, and forthwith it put forth leaves and bloomed. Then one thousand and eighteen persons believed and were forthwith baptized.

"On hearing this, King Dagon sent two hundred soldiers to take the dog-headed man. But the soldiers did not like the looks of him, so they ran away. Then Dagon sent two hundred others, more valiant than the first, and they saw Christopher standing and praying, so they stood still, and began to pray also. And when he had done praying, the soldiers said: "Sir, the King desires to see you". Christopher answered: "If I choose I will go. If I don't choose, I will not go. However I will accompany you."

"Now when he was brought into the hall of Dagon, the King tumbled out of his chair with fright, for Christopher was a giant, and his features were, to say the least, of an unusual type. But after a while, finding his position somewhat undignified, the King scrambled on his legs again, mounted his throne, and plucking up an appearance of courage, asked: "What is your name?" "My name", said the saint, "was Reprobate, but at my baptism I was called Christopher".

"You dog," said Dagon, "Adore my gods."

"S. Christopher replied, "You are rightly called Dagon;(d) whose lot is death and hell, for you are a fool to worship such gods." Then Dagon ordered four hundred soldiers to bind him and take him to prison. But lo! all the four hundred believed and were baptized on the spot, and were martyred. Then Dagon said within himself, "What shall I do with this fellow, bred among wild beasts?"

c) 'Videns ipsum sanctum contremuit: videns corpus hominis, caput autem canis."

d) "Vere bene vocatus es Dagnus; quia tu es pars mortis et conjux patris tui diaboli." What does this mean? Dagon is identical with Minos, a judge in Hell, see Hitzig; Urgeschichte u. Mythologie der Philister, p. 212.

And he bribed two women, Nicaea and Calinice(e) (Aquilina) to lead him into idolatry. But the two women saw his face as a flame of fire, and they fell down and lay on the ground from the third to the sixth hour. Then Christopher said: "Get up and do not be frightened?" And he preached the truth to them; and they believed, and were baptized.

"And Dagon ordered a red hot pot to be put on Christopher's head; then said three of his consuls, "It were well, O King, had you not been born." For saying which they were executed with the sword.

"Then Dagon ordered S. Christopher to be measured for a seat on which to be tortured, all the benches available being of far too contracted dimensions to accomodate his capacious body, and his measure for a seat was twelve cubits. Then, when suitable accommodation had been made, a fire was put under the iron chair, and four hundred pitchers of oil poured over the Saint.

"I am not afraid of your torments!" said S. Christopher, and lo! the iron chair gave way under his ponderous weight, dissolving like wax. Christopher started up so as not to fall in a sitting posture in the flames, and began to pray. Then his face became "as a new rose," and seeing this amazing transformation, and the failure of his iron chair, the King tumbled out of his throne once more, and lay on the ground from the fifth to the ninth hour.

"After that, he got up on his legs again, and said to S. Christopher, "You bad beast (f), are you bent on drawing away all my people after you?" Then he ordered him to be bound to a great post, of suitable height, and that his soldiers should shoot at him. And they shot off their arrows from the first to the twelfth hour. Then the King thought that such a host of arrows must have made his body like that of a porcupine. But what was his amazement to see all the arrows hanging in the air, without falling, and none

e) Commemorated in the Roman martyrology on July 24th.

f) "Fera mala".

had reached the martyr. Then one of the arrows turned round in the air and rushed to the King, and put out one of his eyes. Thereupon S. Christopher said, "I tell thee, King Dagon, that tomorrow I shall gain my crown; and the Christians will take my body, and will put it in the place where they pray. Then do thou make clay with my blood, and apply it to thy blind eye, and it will recover sight." And he prayed, "Grant that where my body is laid, no hail may fall, no fire may break out, there may not be famine, nor mortality; and in that city, evil workers and demoniacs who come and pray with all their hearts, and invoke my name in their prayers, may be saved." Then there fell a voice from heaven, "It shall be as thou hast prayed not only where thy body is, but also where it is not." And S. Christopher also prayed "Lord, grant to those who write and those who read my passion, a good reward. Amen." And when Christopher had completed his martyrdom, Dagon anointed his eye with the blood, and saw; and he also believed, and published a decree, "to all nations and languages, that all who should blaspheme the God of the Christians should be slain with the sword."

"Such are these absurd and worthless arts.

"Western legend as added to them..."

* * *

The western version of the Christopher myth is best quoted from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea.*

"Christopher tofore his baptism was named Reprobus, but afterwards he was named Christopher, which is as much to say as bearing Christ, of that that he bare Christ in four manners. He bare him on his shoulders by conveying and leading, in his body by making it lean, in mind by devotion, and in his mouth by confession and predication.

"Christopher was of the lineage of the Canaanites, and he was of a right great stature, and had a terrible and fearful cheer and

countenance. And he was twelve cubits of length, and as it is read in some histories that, when he served and dwelled with the king of Canaan, it came in his mind that he would seek the greatest prince that was in the world, and him would he serve and obey. And so far he went that he came to a right great king, of whom the renomee generally was that he was the greatest of the world. And when the king saw him, he received him into his service, and made him to dwell in his court. Upon a time a minstrel sang tofore him a song in which he named oft the devil, and the king, which was a christian man, when he heard him name the devil, made anon the sign of the cross in his visage. And when Christopher saw that, he had great marvel what sign it was, and wherefore the king made it, and he demanded of him. And because the king would not say, he said: If thou tell me not, I shall no longer dwell with thee, and then the king told to him, saying: Always when I hear the devil named, I fear that he should have power over me, and I garnish me with this sign that he grieve not he annoy me. Then Christopher said to him: Doubtest thou the devil that he hurt thee not? Then is he devil more mighty and greater than thou art. I am then deceived of my hope and purpose, for I had supposed I had found the most mighty and the most greatest Lord of the world, but I commend thee to God, for I will go seek him for to be my Lord, and I his servant. And then departed from this king, and hasted him for to seek the devil. And as he went by a great desert, he saw a great company of knights, of which a knight cruel and horrible came to him and demanded whither he went, and Christopher answered to him and said: I go seek the devil for to be my master. And he said: I am he that thou seekest. And then Christopher was glad, and bound him to be his servant perpetual, and took him for his master and Lord. And as they went together by a common way, they found there a cross, erect and standing. And anon as the devil saw the cross he was afeard and fled, and left the right way, and brought Christopher about by a sharp desert. And after, when they were past the cross, he brought him to the highway that

they had left. And when Christopher saw that, he marvelled, and demanded whereof he doubted, and had left the high and fair way, and had gone so far about by so aspre a desert. And the devil would not tell him in no wise. Then Christopher said to him: If thou wilt not tell me, I shall anon depart from thee, and shall serve thee no more. Wherefor the devil was constrained to tell him, and said: There was a man called Christ which was hanged on the cross, and when I see his sign I am sore afraid, and flee from it wheresoever I see it. To whom Christopher said: Then he is greater, and more mightier than thou, when thou art afraid of his sign, and I see well that I have laboured in vain, when I have not founden the greatest Lord of the world. And I will serve thee no longer, go thy way then, for I will go seek Christ. And when he had long sought and demanded where he should find Christ, at last he came into a great desert, to an hermit that dwelt there, and this hermit preached to him of Jesu Christ and informed him in the faith diligently. And said to him: This king whom thou desirest to serve, requireth the service that thou must oft fast. And Christopher said to him: Require of me some other thing, and I shall do it, for that which thou requirest I may not do. And the hermit said: Thou must then wake and make many prayers. And Christopher said to him: I wot not what it is; I may do no such thing. And then the hermit said to him: Knowest thou such a river, in which many be perished and lost? To whom Christopher said: I know it well. Then said the hermit, Because thou art noble and high of stature and strong in thy members, thou shalt be resident by that river, and thou shalt bear over all them that shall pass there, which shall be a thing right convenable to our Lord Jesu Christ whom thou desirest to serve, and I hope he shall show himself to thee. Then said Christopher: Certes, this service may I well do, and I promise to him for to do it. Then went Christopher to this river, and made there his habitacle for him, and bare a great pole in his hand instead of a staff, by which he sustained him in the water, and bare over all manner of people without ceasing. And there he abode,

thus doing, many days. And in a time, as he slept in his lodge, he heard the voice of a child which called him and said: Christopher, come out and bear me over. Then he awoke and went out, but he found no man. And when he was again in his house, he heard the same voice and he ran out and found nobody. The third time he was called and came thither, and found a child beside the rivage of the river, which prayed him goodly to bear him over the water. And then Christopher lift up the child on his shoulders, and took his staff, and entered into the river for to pass. And the water of the river arose and swelled more and more: and the child was heavy as lead, and alway as he went farther the water increased and grew more, and the child more and more waxed heavy, insomuch that Christopher had great anguish and was afeard to be drowned. And when he was escaped with great pain, and passed the water, and set the child aground, he said to the child: Child, thou hast put me in great peril; thou weighest almost as I had all the world upon me, I might bear no greater burden. And the child answered: Christopher, marvel thee nothing, for thou hast not only borne all the world upon thee, but thou hast borne him that created and made all the world, upon thy shoulders. I am Jesu Christ the king, to whom thou servest in this work. And because that thou know that I say to be the truth, set thy staff in the earth by thy house, and thou shalt see to morn that it shall bear flowers and fruit, and anon he vanished from his eyes. And then Christopher set his staff in the earth, and when he arose on the morn, he found his staff like a palmier bearing flowers, leaves and dates.

"And then Christopher went into the city of Lycia, and understood not their language. Then he prayed our Lord that he might understand them, and so he did. And as he was in this prayer, the judges supposed that he had been a fool, and left him there. And then when Christopher understood the language, he covered his visage and went to the place where they martyred christian men, and comforted them in our Lord. And then the judges smote him in the face, and Christopher said to them: If I were not christ-

ian I should avenge mine injury. And then Christopher pitched his rod in the earth, and prayed to our Lord that for to convert the people it might bear flowers and fruit, and anon it did so. And then he converted eight thousand men. And then the king sent two knights for to fetch him to the king, and they found him praying, and durst not tell to him so. And anon after, the king sent as many more, and they anon set them down for to pray with him. And when Christopher arose, he said to them: What seek ye? And when they saw him in the visage they said to him: The king hath sent us, that we should lead thee bound unto him. And Christopher said to them: If I would, ye should not lead me to him, bound ne unbound. And they said to him: If thou wilt go thy way, go quit, where thou wilt. And we shall say to the king that we have not found thee. It shall not be so, said he, but I shall go with you. And then he converted them in the faith, and commanded them that they should bind his hands behind his back, and lead him so bound to the king. And when the king saw him he was afeard and fell down off the seat, and his servants lifted him up and releved him again. And then the king inquired his name and his country; and Christopher said to him: Tofore or I was baptized I was named Reprobus, and after, I am Christopher; tofore baptism, a Canaanite, now, a christian man. To whom the king said: Thou hast a foolish name, that is to wit of Christ crucified, which could not help himself, ne may not profit to thee. How therefore, thou cursed Canaanite, why wilt thou not do sacrifice to our gods? To whom Christopher said: Thou are rightfully called Dagnus, for thou are the death of the world, and fellow of the devil, and thy gods be made with the hands of men. And the king said to him: Thou wert nourished among wild beasts, and therefore thou mayst not say but wild language, and words unknown to men. And if thou wilt now do sacrifice to the gods I shall give to thee great gifts and great honours, and if not, I shall destroy thee and consume thee by great pains and torments. But, for all his, he would in no wise do sacrifice, wherefore he was sent in to prison, and the king

did do behead the other knights that he had sent for him, whom he had converted. And after this he sent in to the prison to S. Christopher two fair women, of whom that one was named Nicaea and that other Aquilina, and promised to them many great gifts if they could draw Christopher to sin with them. And when Christopher saw that, he set him down in prayer, and when he was constrained by them that embraced him to move, he arose and said: What seek ye? For what cause be ye come hither? And they, which were afraid of his cheer and clearness of his visage, said: Holy saint of God, have pity of us so that we may believe in that God that thou preachest. And when the king heard that, he commanded that they should be let out and brought tofore him. To whom he said: Ye be deceived, but I swear to you by my gods that, if ye do no sacrifice to my gods, ye shall anon perish by evil death. And they said to him: If thou wilt that we shall do sacrifice, command that the places may be made clean, and that all the people may assemble at the temple. And when this was done they entered in to the temple, and took their girdles, and put them about the necks of their gods, and drew them to the earth, and brake them all in pieces, and said to them that were there: Go and call physicians and leeches for to heal your gods. And then, by the commandment of the king, Aquilina was hanged, and a right great and heavy stone was hanged at her feet, so that her members were much despitously broken. And when she was dead, and passed to our Lord, her sister Nicaea was cast into a great fire, but she issued out without harm all whole, and then he made to smite off her head, and so suffered death.

"After this Christopher was brought tofore the king, and the king commanded that he should be beaten with rods of iron, and that there should be set upon his head a cross of iron red hot and burning, and then after, he did do make a siege or a stool of iron, and made Christopher to be bounden thereon, and after, to set fire under it, and cast therein pitch. But the siege or settle melted like wax, and Christopher issued out without any harm or hurt.

And when the king saw that, he commanded that he should be bound to a strong stake, and that he should be through-shotten with arrows with forty knights archers. But none of the knights might attain him, for the arrows hung in the air about, nigh him, without touching. Then the king weened that he had been through-shotten with the arrows of the knights, and addressed him for to go to him. And one of the arrows returned suddenly from the air and smote him in the eye, and blinded him. To whom Christopher said: Tyrant, I shall die to-morn, make a little clay, with my blood tempered, and anoint therewith thine eye, and thou shalt receive health. Then by the commandment of the king he was led for to be beheaded, and then, there made he his orison, and his head was smitten off, and so suffered martyrdom. And the king then took a little of his blood and laid it on his eye, and said: In the name of God and of S. Christopher! and was anon healed. Then the king believed in God, and gave commandment that if any person blamed God or S. Christopher, he should anon be slain with the sword.

"Ambrose saith in his preface thus, of this holy martyr: Lord, thous has given to Christopher so great plenty of virtues, and such grace of doctrine, that he called from the error of paynims forty-eight thousand men, to the honour of christian faith, by his shining miracles. And Nicaea and Aquilina, which long had been common at the bordel, under the stench of lechery, he called and made them serve in the habit of chastity, and enseigned them to a like crown of martyrdom. And with his, he being strained and bounden in a seat of iron and great fire put under, doubted nothing the heat. And all a whole day during, stood bounden to a stake, yet might not be through pierced with arrows of all the knights. And with that, one of the arrows smote out the eye of the tyrant, to whom the blood of the holy martyr re-established his sight, and enlumined him in taking away the blindness of his body, and gat of the christian mind and pardon, and he also gat of thee by prayer power to put away sickness and sores from them that remember his passions and

figure. Then let us pray to S. Christopher that he pray for us, et cetera".

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On the testimony of these documents we can gather a central fact: the mythical personality of St. Christopher consists in the juxtaposition of two main mythical complexes. Firstly, the oriental one, where he appears as a heathen dog-headed giant, whom every one fears, who is converted, then suffers martyrdom, at the order of a vicious tyrant, and from then on, protects humanity from diverse calamities. Secondly, the western complex: Saint Christopher, though remaining here at first a heathen giant, but who has lost his dog's head, is converted, and, being rather simple minded in spite of his great physical strength, devotes himself to fording travellers over a furious stream, and amongst these, one day, the infant Jesus. After which, he also suffers martyrdom at the hand of the tyrant. He then became the patron saint of many activities and professions and protected men in general against diverse calamities.

So he was patron saint of porters (in Paris, in the Middle Ages) of ferrymen, mariners, sailors, of travellers in general, of treasure seekers; of gardeners and bookbinders too, of fullers, of husbandmen, we are told. We understand that Christopher be the patron of porters (did he not bear the most precious of burdens?) of ferrymen (did he not like them pass travellers over streams?) of mariners, sailors, travellers and treasure seekers, of all these adventurers, by extension; we understand less here why he specially protected gardeners and husbandmen, unless he was to protect husbandmen and gardeners against thunder, storms, hail, which are real dangers to crops as well as to men. Still more mysterious is the special protection extended to fullers or bookbinders, perhaps was this apotropaic saint to protect bookbinders against the evil influence suffered to emanate from certain books, the written word they cannot decipher seeming magically dangerous to the illiterate? But this is only a frail hypothesis.

What is certain is that Christopher protected mankind at large against dangers, and that his image or statue, therefore, was painted or erected at the entrance of many houses, bridges or churches, often in colossal dimensions. Did Christopher not arrest the dangers by water (floods or ice jams), by fire, by storms, thunder, lightning, hail? Was he not said to protect against famine, plague, epilepsy, even falling or fainting, these apparent equivalents of sudden death?

Christophori Sancti speciem quicumque tuetur
Illo namque die nullo languore tenetur.

(Whoever shall behold the image of Saint Christopher shall not faint or fall on that day.)

Christofori faciem die quacunque tueris
Illa nempe die morte mala non morieris.

(He who looks on the face of Christopher will not meet bad (sudden) death on that day.)

* * *

Now let us revert to our original question: how is it that Saint Christopher became the special protector of motor-car drivers — and aviators, let us now add — against fatal accidents bringing about sudden death? What relation between the mythical giant wading across a furious stream and a modern motor-car driver or aviator in his machine?

We cannot understand this relation without bringing together the two separate types of our Saint, the early oriental one and the later western one.

Let us not forget that, at first, in the earlier oriental versions of the legend, the saint was to begin with a heathen giant with a dog's head. He thus seems issued from some heathen pantheon, from the Egyptian pantheon in particular, with whose jackal-headed god Anubis he bears that likeness which struck me so vividly in the Athen's Byzantine Museum, and had struck others before me, though they did not follow up the consequences therefrom.

Two more traits identify the primeval heathen giant, which was to become the saintly man Christopher, with a former heathen god in general and with the Egyptian Anubis in particular. Is he not in almost every version, even in the western ones — called at first Reprobus or Reprobatus, which suggests reproved? And we know from the comparative studies of religions that the gods of the former and vanquished ones tend to become the demons of the later and triumphant ones — this until these last ones manage to absorb and fuse at least part of them in new godly figures.

But the second trait attributed to the heathen giant Reprobatus identifies him more closely to the particular Egyptian god Anubis. He is described as a dog-headed man-eater, a cannibal. And such a carcass, corpse devourer is the jackal, haunter of carrion and cemeteries, a habit of his which accounts for his having given his head to Anubis, god of the Sarcophagi, the Dead, the Underworld.

So the heathen giant, the dog-headed Reprobatus — Christopher, appears to be most really a christianed Anubis, as Saint Barbara — to quote only one further example — was a christianised Bellona or armed Pallas, and thus became the patroness of artillery men.

* * *

Let us further ask now: how did this new Christian oriental figuration of Anubis, god of the Dead ,come to be transformed into the western bearer of Christ over the waters? How did the dog-headed giant lose his animal head and become the great Christ-bearer of so many statues, paintings, amulets and medals?

We can ascertain it — it is because St. Christopher was originally Anubis, god of the Dead, that he became the crosser of the stream. How often, on the engravings and paintings that adorn the Egyptian tombs, do we not behold the boat of Osiris, with Anubis standing erect near Osiris's coffin, whilst the funeral vessel is supposed to glide over these waters the Deceased have to traverse in order to travel from this world into the next one? This idea of a stream to

cross before men can enter the world beyond the tomb was familiar to many a religion: let us only mention in this context the Hellenic Styx with its mythical ferryman Charon (which, by the way, has remained until this day for the modern Greek folklore the figuration of Death itself).

So Christopher, the passer of the furious stream, seems to syncretise in his new Christian shape the heathen passers of the Dead, to be some replica of the Anubis and Charon of the former pagan creeds. And the stream he crosses must be, in the deep unconscious imagination of the folk, a kind of christian Styx.

Therefore, when the Bearer has thus complained: "Child, thou hast put me in great peril; thou weighest almost as I had all the world upon me, I might bear no greater burden", can the Divine child thus answer: "Christopher, marvel thee nothing, for thou hast not only borne all the world upon thee, but thou hast borne him that created and made all the world, upon thy shoulders...". And in the numerous figurations of the Christopher myth which, through the centuries, have inspired so many artists, we behold the Infant Jesus carrying in his small hand the globe. For, like Anubis's or Charo's boat, the Bearer wading across the stream carries in fact a most heavy burden! Is it not the whole weight of poor Humanity falling, generation after generation, a prey to almighty Death?

If the Creator and Saviour of Humanity is at the same time supposed to be borne with those he saved, there may be there an allusion to the fact that Christ himself passed the shores of Death. But there may be a more hopeful allusion contained in the beautiful legend: the Saviour of Humanity accompanies Men on their Death journey, saves them from hell, brings them to heaven. The oriental Christopher himself, before dying, had prayed God in these terms: "Grant that where my body is laid, no hail shall fall, no fire may break out, there may be no famine, no mortality; and in that city, *evil workers and demoniacs who come and pray with all their hearts, and invoke my name in their prayers, may be saved.*" And God answers: "It shall be as thou hast prayed not only where thy body

is, but also where it is not." So the Bearer of the Dead, when Death prevails, preserves men from hell, carries them on to the right shore. The Christians, in the Middle Ages, feared *sudden* death as the worst form of death, as it exposed them to die without repentence, without confession, in a state of mortal sin, dooming them thus to hell. Later on, as the fear of hell has more and more receded and followed the waning of the belief in the Devil which precedes everywhere the waning of the belief in God, that fear of sudden death, of which Christopher must preserve us, has acquired a much more earthly tinge. It is death as such that must be averted, that the old protector from sudden death, Christopher, must keep away from us. And so Christopher, after having been for centuries invoked against floods, fires, earthquakes, storms, famine, plague and epilepsy, could, in modern times, also be invoked against the new dangers threatening men with sudden death and which arise from these new instruments of travel devised by men: motor-cars and aeroplanes.

As a claim that it was already from ever dreaded death itself that the former Anubis — Christopher saved men is given in the episode of the flowering rod, testimony of Christ's power. Is the withered but all the same flowering rod not a classical symbol of resurrection, of the denial of death? *Ego sum resurrectio et vita.* The same death denying symbolism which created Heaven incites us, even today, to bequeath wreaths of flowers on the dead, on coffins and tombs. But this is the religious celestial denial of Death, and Christopher, patron of motor-car drivers and airmen, is now asked to save men from earthly real death.

* * *

When motor-car drivers and airmen, in this much more materialistic way, hope to be saved from death through the magical power of the Christopher medals adorning their motors or their planes, it may seem strange, in remembrance of the fact that Christopher is

a personification of Death, that they should invoke Death itself against death. But this apparent incongruity fades away if we stress the fact that Death, in such a case, is so to say the anthropomorphic god or angel of Death. Many fateful incarnations of Evil were, in all religions, thus implored to spare men their fateful activities. Did not the bravest of all Greeks, the Lacedomonians, erect a chapel unto Fear? But this no doubt in order to ask this incarnation of Fear not to send them fear in the combats. In this way the implorations of men to an angel of Death can be understood. The living enamoured with Life implore the Angel of Death not to take them yet, to refrain from his fateful activities against them. To the Bearer who crosses the lethal stream men address a supplication: "Not yet! Leave us a little while still on this earthly shore!" They thus pray to him as they would to some fateful real human messenger come to bear them away from all that they love, from that land to which, in spite of its hardships, they desperately cling, which even the majority of the pious people apparently prefer to the other unknown one.

And so we come to understand what the millions of Christopher medals nailed into motor-cars, or now even planes, mean to their drivers. Each time they enter the car or the plane, they more or less behold the medal. And the magico-religious effect of this beholding works: as their middle age forefathers, they feel protected, at least for this day, from sudden death. It is as if they had implored: "Passer of the Dead, do not pass us yet!" and as if the fateful Passer, having heard their prayer, had in fact consented to leave them, at least for this day, linger on the earthly shore.

Let us add that the benefit of having a Christopher medal in one's car or in one's plane is not only mythical but is also real, in giving to the driver, more or less consciously, a feeling of security, of self-confidence which permits of a drive or a flight both surer and bolder.

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The theme of the Passer of Christ over a dangerous stream appears sometimes in other connections than with Reprobatus — Christopher. Let us only mention and briefly review here *La légende de Saint Julien l'hospitalier* (8) by Gustave Flaubert.

But, in this case, other themes have been fused with it, which we do not find in the Christopher myth.

In 1872, Flaubert, then past fifty years of age, had lost his mother, and three years later, his fortune. He was very depressed, and in order to try and recover, he retired to Concarneau in Bretragne. There, interrupting his other literary labours (he had inbetween achieved *La tentation de Saint Antoine* and gone on assembling documentation for *Bouvard et Pécuchet*), he soon began writing the *Legend.*

(To Mme Roger des Genettes he had formerly written: "Je ne pense plus qu'au jours écoulés et aux gens qui ne peuvent revenir. Signe de vieillesse et de décadence... je vais me mettre à écrire La Légenda de Saint Julien l'Hospitalier, uniquement pour m'occuper à quelque chose." (Correspondence, tome IV.) and to George Sand he was to write: "Vous savez que j'ai quitté mon grand roman" (*Bouvard et Pécuchet*) "pour écrire une petite bêtise moyenâgeuse qui n'aura pas plus de 30 pages. Cela me met dans un milieu plus propre que le monde moderne et me fait du bien." (Correspondence, tome IV.)

In thus explaining why he took up writing the *Legend,* Flaubert was minimizing the urge thereto. It is not "merely in order to have something to do" that he took up this work, and the *Legend* was not "a little trifle about the Middle Ages." If he chose this subject, it was in deep connection with this that he was "only thinking of the bygone days and of the people who cannot come back" and to find some sort of "catharsis" that would help him, as he actually says the *Legend did.*

Julien is born in some opulent middle age castle, the son of noble and wealthy parents. A supernatural hermit appears to his mother and predicts that he will be a saint. To his father, an uncanny gipsy

announces that he will, amid much blood and glory, enter the family of an Emperor.

We are then shown how Julien's sadistic propensities develop: he first kills with great lust a mouse in a church, then birds, and is then regularly taught as becomes his rank the art of hunting.

And he is seized by the passion for murder and blood to such a degree that, day and night, he does nothing else than roam about the forest in search of kills. He lastly indulges, one day, in a magical hunt where he slaughters thousands of beasts, amongst which a whole herd of stags. And it is then that a huge black stag, which he kills after having murdered his fawn and his roe, curses Julien before expiring and predicts to this "ferocious heart" that he will one day murder father and mother!

In order to escape this curse, Julien renounres hunting, flecs from home and becomes a great general in the service of the Emperor of Occitania. In reward for the victories he wins, the Emperor gives him his beautiful daughter.

And Julien, in a magnificent palace, leads a gorgeously splendid life next to his beloved wife.

But he remains haunted by his former sadistic hunting memories, and one night, in spite of his vows, he goes out in the forest with his bow and arrows.

And the magic pursuit by his former victims then begins. His power to kill appears broken, no arrow, no spear prevails, and all the animals, with sparkling eyes dotting the branches of the trees or the undergrowth, follow him and make fun of him.

The day at last breaks, Julien returns home.

Inbetween, his old parents, who for years had wandered in search of him, had arrived at his castle, been received and fed by his wife, and put to bed in her own bed. When Julien re-enters his room in the castle, in the dim light of dawn, and wants to kiss his wife lying in the bed, he discovers two bodies lying there, of which one is a man's, with a long beard! Mad with jealousy, he stabs both bodies, and thus accomplishe the great stag's prophesy.

Too late, he understands his mistake, and flees again from home. And this time goes about the world as a poor beggar, until he arrives near a furious and dangerous stream. He repairs an old boat that he finds abandoned there, and decides to devote the end of his tragic life in helping travellers to cross this dangerous stream.

So Julien the ferryman one dark and stormy night hears a plaintive voice calling for him from the other river bank and goes out. The traveller is a hideous leper, whose magical weight causes the little boat to sink deeply amid the furious waves. With pains and strifes, Julien gets back to the shore with his weighty traveller, and there, the leper subjects him to a terrible trial. The leper first asks for food. Then for drink. Julien gives him all he has, then the leper complains of the cold and asks for Julien's bed, and for his company in the bed, and finally shivering more and more, bequests Julien to lie on top of him. Julien obeys...

"Alors le Lépreux l'étreignit; et ses yeux tout à coup prirent une clarté d'étoiles; ses cheveux s'allongèrent comme les rais du soleil; le souffle de ses narines avait la douceur des roses; un nuage d'encens s'éleva du foyer, les flots chantaient.

"Cependant une abondance de délices, une joie surhumaine descendait comme une inondation dans l'âme de Julien pâmé; et celui dont les bras le serraient toujours grandissait, grandissait, touchant de sa tête et de ses pieds les deux murs de la cabane. Le toit s'envola; le firmament se déployait; — et Julien monta vers les espaces bleus, face à face avec Notre-Seigneur Jésus, qui l'emportait dans le ciel."

We here find the Saint Hubert and Saint Eustace theme of the miraculous stag associated with some sort of Christopher myth. The above named Saints abstain from killing after the miraculous apparition, and from thence on, lead a saintly life. With Julien, things are different, he kills father and mother after the viewing of the stag. The stag no doubt, in the Eustace and Hubert legends, are totemic figurations of the Father, of whose murder the son must abstain. In Julien's

legend, we thus find a return of the repressed theme, the real father is murdered first in his totemic and then in his human form, and only thereafter does the repentant son become a saint. The mother is added to the massacre; but let us remember that Flaubert (who had lost his father as a young man), when he chose at fifty to write the *Legend,* had recently lost his mother, and thus repressed sadistic wishes towards the mother could be vented.

Lastly, the ferryman Julien possesses some traits which differentiate him from the Passer Christopher. The passing of the dangerous stream may still, as in the unconscious of all men, represent the passing of the Stream from Life unto Death, and, in fact, it is after a last crossing that Julien ascends to heaven. But Julien, instead of being a typical avatar of the Death god, remains primarily both the author and the hero of the *Legend* himself: a son who gets absolved from the primeval parricide, and is then duly glorified. In ascending, "face to face" with Christ, to Heaven, he appears identified with the Son — god himself.

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10. Jameson (Mrs.), *Sacred and Legendary Art,* London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1891.
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12. Voragine (Jacobus de), *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints,* as Englished by William Caxton Vol. four, London, J. M. Dent, 1800. (The first edition by Caxton was published in 1483. The Latin original was probably composed about 1260. First print: 1474.)

NOTE

In view of the scarcity of the sources available at the Cape, I had written to Dr. Martin Freud, in London, asking him to look for documents in the British Museum. This is what he answered, on the 23th of March, 1942:

"Referring to the oriental sources I do not think that "Il Menologio di Basilio II (Liturgies-Greek Rite) is the most useful one. It dates from between 1000 to 1025 and contains the legend as taken over from earlier sources with more or less alterations. In my opinion most useful for your studies would be the "Martyrologium Hieronymianum", compiled in Luxeuil 627/8.

"I have so far not been able yet to find an English translation of one of the oriental sources, but I hope I shall succeed. I did find the Latin Text of the "Passio" which in my opinion might be characteristic for the oriental sources: it contains nothing about carrying the Christ-child or serving with the strongest of kings and the devil, but gives a very detailed description of his Martyrium. The Christophorus of the "passio" is, what you surely know, an Anthropophagan with a dog's head. The latin is of Merovingian style and absolutely sickening...

"In the following I will give you a short survey of the material I found about Christophorus, in the hope that one thing or the other might be helpful and lead to further inquiries from your side. I will also give you some titles of books dealing with the history of the Saint.

"In the orient we find the Saint first mentioned in May 450; the bishop of Caldecon, Eulalius started the building of a church, dedicated to St. Christophorus. The church was consecrated on the 22.9.452. It is believed this Saint of the Bithynian church has been

a historical personality; identity of names might have led to the identification with the Saint of the Western church.

"In the occident the first mentioning occurs in a letter by the pope Gregor I (Nov./Dec. 589) addressed to bishop Secundinus in Taormina, Sicilia; the letter mentions "Monasterium Sancti Christophori" in Taormina.

"For some time the cult of Christophorus was very widely spread. At the beginning of the 16th century he was called an universal patron. Luther in his famous sermons on the 10 commandments, 1516/7, says: tantum habet honoris, ut nullus apostolorum sit ei conferendus.

"There was a certain hostility against him from the side of the church and during the reign of Maximilian I in Germany the Saint's name vanished from the prayer books.

"Many miracles were connected with his name: Those who looked upon his figure, trusting in God, the greatest strength of all, should not suffer sudden death and should be protected from all dangers. The Saint was:

"Patron Saint of Travellers,

"Patron of Treasure seekers,

"Patron of Autocars and airplanes.

"In France, Belgium and part of Bavaria cars and planes were decorated on his birthday (July 25th, May 9th eastern calender) with medals showing the picture of the Saint.

"You might find material: Waldemar Deonna, La céleste patronne des aviateurs, Revue d'ethnograpie 3, 1922 Page 251, 5, 1924 page 37 and following. There exist also 2 German monographies concerning the same theme, G. Schreiber, Duesseldorf 1930 and Alb. Becker "Christophorus, der Heilige des modernen Verkehrs."

"Patron of the *Lift* he also was. Pope Pius XI is reported to have had a plaquette in his own lift, which plaquette he had consecrated himself.

"I mention some more authors on Christophorus: H. P. Huet, Soissons 1861, Chavanne, Roanne 1875, Adr. Peladon, Nîmes 1880,

T. Mainguet, 1891, G. Lambert, Genappe 1932 "Le grand patron de la route," M. A. Masseron, Paris 1933.

"There are quite a lot of German authors too. These take most interest in the German legend of the giant who carried the Christ Child; ancient German poems have been found older than the Legenda Aurea and believed to have been the source from which J. de Voragine took his story."

Most of these sources I could not consult, as they were not available at the Cape.

I found *A Dictionary of Christian Biography* and Baring Gould's *Lives of the Saints* at the South African Library in Cape Town. *The Golden Legend* was graciously lent to me by the Rev. Hermitage Day.

An appreciation of Freud's "Moses and Monotheism"

by

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Anyone who is acquainted with the clear, sure and convincing style in which Freud usually presented his themes and developed his ideas in his scientific works, cannot help but be struck by the recurrent feeling of uncertainty in his last book, "Moses and Monotheism". Indeed, even his opening treatise "Moses an Egyptian" ends with the words "An objective proof has not been forthcoming, and therefore it will be better to suppress any inferences that might follow our view that Moses was an Egyptian." (p. 25, German edit.).

In the introduction to the second treatise "If Moses *was* an Egyptian" Freud clearly declares: "At the end of my (last) essay I said that important and far-reaching conclusions could be drawn from the suggestion that Moses was an Egyptian; but I was not prepared to uphold them publicly, since they were based only on psychological probabilities and lacked objective proof". But nevertheless he ends the introduction as follows: "Notwithstanding these misgivings, which weigh as heavily to-day as they did then, the decision has emerged out of the conflict of my motives to follow up my first essay by this contribution. But once again it is only a part of the whole, and not the most important part".

And now we have the third, long withheld treatise, which is accompanied by two introductory notes. The first deals with the external obstacles of a political nature which prevented publication in Austria. The second was written in London, and while it deals

chiefly with the way in which these obstacles were overcome, it brings to light even more emphatically Freud's own inner misgivings. "Now as then I am uneasy when confronted with my own work; I miss the feeling of unity and intimacy that should exist between the author and his work. ...My uncertainty first begins when I ask myself whether I have succeeded in proving Jewish Monotheism by the example chosen here. To my critical faculties this treatise proceeding from a study of the man Moses, seems like a dancer balancing on one toe." (p. 104).

A severer self-criticism than this can hardly be asked of any author, but then the question arises — why did Freud, in spite of his reluctance, write the book, and why did he, after such an interval, publish it? We can see that it was not easy for him to do so, and it caused him much inner conflict and indecision. Why did he do it? Apparently he could not do otherwise. One could say that in his twelfth hour, with his last breath, he voiced to the world the truth he had so long withheld, a truth which he had somehow never doubted even though he had been unable to produce valid reasons in support of it and thus convince unbelievers and the incredulous. Otherwise his lifework would not have been consummated, his task not concluded.

Let us now trace briefly the trend of development in his system of ideas.

At the beginning of his long and triumphant path comes the discovery of the concept of the Unconscious in the human mind, of its contents and workings. Together with this is established the principle of the total separation of the unconscious from the conscious mind, and of the controlling part played by the censor. With the development of psycho-analytical theory, this concept of censorship developed into the principle of the super-ego or ego-ideal — the guardian and protector of socio-cultural morals against the instinctive impulses surging up from the unconscious. How did this super-ego develop? As a result of the introjection of the imago of the father or the parents. Thus the ideals of social behaviour

developed from one generation to the other, each adding its own contribution and being handed on the whole to future generations through the upbuilding of the super-ego.

So Freud, having started out from an ontogenetic view of the human mind, arrived at a phylogenetic one, and came to ask the obvious question as to how and why the human mind started on this trend of development, and where its origins lay.

Freud's first answer to this question was "Totem and Taboo". The most primitively organised system of human society amongst the primordial tribes, was based on tribal law. The father of the tribe, who was the oldest and strongest, was the sole and absolute lawgiver and ruler over all the weaker. He could enslave, expell, and murder; all females were his property and all he could seize was his. At one stage, their common, hard lot united the weak, the sons of the tribe, and that was a decisive moment in the history of Mankind. They united and murdered the tyrant, the tribal father. At first this act strengthened their realisation of the community of their interests, but soon there awoke a sense of guilt concerning the deed perpetrated, and regret, and with it a desire to bring the murdered one back to life. This was the first impulse to the development of Religion and Morals.

The necessity for apportioning the women amongst themselves led to the beginnings of sexual morality, to exogamy and finally to the matriarchal system of society.

The patriachal structure of society was later restored, in the persons of the primitive despots of antiquity, the kings and noblemen of prehistoric and ancient times. But their fate, too, was usually no easier than that of the father; few met with natural deaths. Even in the old henotheistic religions the father-god generally had to share his might and sovereignty with his god-wives and god-sons.

Centuries, even millenia passed, before patriarchal power was renewed to new life, to new strength and sovereignty. But this time it took on a spiritualised form and was based on a new ethical content, on the ideals of Justice, Truth and Order. The revived

patriarchy achieved a might and power beyond anything the earlier despots could show, for the hearts of the sons submitted readily, lovingly and in all meekness. The father-god held sole sway over the world and Mankind. With monotheism the rule of the father-imago reached its highest, strongest and most consummate expression.

Where did this monotheism spring from? Tradition associates its origin with the revelation of God to his greatest prophet, Moses, who proclaimed God's word to the Jewish people.

Moses, the man of tradition, thereby created the most magnificent work a human being has ever accomplished: He elevated the father-imago to the rank of Almighty God, established his throne in the high Heavens, and won him sole sovereignty over the world and Man for all eternity. By this deed he laid the foundations for a more highly developed human culture, a culture which in spite of its ebb and flow is continuously progressing and flowering right up to our own times.

Who was this man Moses? History has nothing to tell about him. He is purely legend, but the legend reveals little about him, is almost commonplace and shows the greatest similarities to many other myths about the births of ancient heroes. It is the simple story of a Foundling.

The well-known Bible research scholar of Heidelberg University, Professor Georg Beer, contends in his book "Exodus" that the story of the birth of Moses is a legend for which there are many corresponding ones in the tales of antiquity. What the Israelite has told of Moses was said by the Persian of Cyrus, by the Roman of Romulus and Remus. The oldest parallel is the story of Sargon, who was the first semitic king of Babylon, at about 2,600 B.C. Here we find the essence of all myths of this group, and the story briefly is as follows: — A mighty ruler was troubled by the revelations of his oracles, who forecast that a newly-born child was a menace to him. He tried to do away with the infant, by locking him in a wooden chest and casting him into water. The boy however was

saved, being discovered by a merciful person who took him in and brought him up as his own son. When the boy grew up, he accomplished his preordained task and destroyed the despot. Passing as it did from one nation to another, this birth-myth was applied by the Israelites to Moses in a form adapted to the national and religious sensibilities of the people. Thus, for instance, the actual mother, who in the older myths is usually the daughter of the tyrant is, under pressure of the national pride of the Israelites, transformed into the foster-mother.

Now, why should Freud have been satisfied with the assertions of the traditional story and accepted them as established truth? But he had been the one who had discovered the laws of primitive thought as expressed in dream, myth and legend. It was he who interpreted and elucidated the symbolism of the taking of a child out of water as signifying its birth. What appeared to research workers as an eminent probability, was for Freud an absolute certainty — that Moses was the son of the Egyptian princess, an Egyptian by birth.

Incidentally, the same views had already been expressed by other renowned research workers before Freud, for example Ed. Meyer. Concerning the opposition view which tries to refute these opinions, Freud says, "I myself do not share this negative attitude, but I am not in a position to refute it."

The focal point of Freud's interest however is not the national origin of Moses, for though it is important it is not the only preliminary requirement.

"If Moses was an Egyptian" then "...the possible motivation of numerous characteristics and peculiarities of the legislation and religion he gave the Jewish people can be perceived. It stimulates ideas of some moment concerning the origin of monotheistic religion in general".

The first and most important inference Freud draws from the assumption that Moses was an Egyptian is that he was probably of high birth, possibly, as the legend itself indicates, a Prince of Pha-

rao's court and a follower of the Aton or Atun religion which was established by Pharao Amenhotep IV., later known as Ikhnaton. This was the first monotheistic religion history knows of, and in many significant and fundamental characteristics it shows far-reaching similarity to Jewish monotheism. Both maintain for example the exclusiveness of the monotheistic dogma, the abstraction of the idea of God, the complete absence of any belief in the next world or in a continuation of life after death, and finally the prohibition of sorcery, ceremonials, exhortations and amulets.

Finally, as an Egyptian, Moses introduced to the Jews the custom of circumcision, which was widely practised in Egypt but was as yet unknown amongst the semitic races.

It must, however, again be emphasised that, irrespective of whether the grounds for Freud's assumption that Moses was an Egyptian are regarded as valid or not, the whole great undertaking of founding the religion, of laying down and expounding the law, and liberating the Jewish people from their Egyptian bondage can have been accomplished by Moses even if, as Jewish tradition has it, he was of Jewish extraction. Tradition itself tells us that Moses, for all that he came of Jewish stock, was adopted by the Princess, Pharao's daughter, was brought up at court as a Prince and had from childhood imbibed "all the wisdom of the Egyptians". The whole question as to the national origin of Moses does not appear to be of decisive importance for Freud's main problem, origin and development of monotheism.

Of far greater importance is the second point in which Freud deviates from the Jewish biblical narration of Moses' life-story. This is in the death of Moses. Freud accepts the assertion of the well-known Berlin scholar, Sellin, that Moses did not die a natural death, as is stated in the Bible, but was slain by the Jews in a revolt in the desert. This is not the proper place to enter into a more profound discussion of the problem, nor do I feel myself called upon to do so. Besides, seeing that the whole life-story of Moses has become but a myth with not a single reliable historical document on the subject

at our disposal, the decision as to which solution of the problem is to be preferred will always remain subject to the goodwill and opinion of each individual. For our purpose it has sufficient importance in the solution of Freud's central problem. "The great deed and misdeed of primaeval times, the murder of the Father, was brought home to the Jews, for fate decreed that they should repeat it on the person of Moses, an eminent father substitute". (p. 168).

"The murder of Moses by his people — which Sellin recognised in the traces of tradition and which, strangely enough, the young Goethe had assumed without any evidence — has thus become an indispensable part of our reasoning, an important link between the forgotten deed of primaeval times and its subsequent reappearance in the form of monotheistic religions. It is an attractive suggestion that the guilt attached to the murder of Moses may have been the stimulus for the wish-phantasy of the Messiah, who was to return and give his people salvation and the promised sovereignty over the world." (p. 161).

The murder of Moses in the desert by the Jews appears as one of the cornerstones of Freud's whole structure of ideas. It is the repetition of the primal-crime, of the primal-sin, which according to "Totem and Taboo" stands on the threshold of human civilisation. This primal-act is now reproduced in the case of Moses and leads to the same consequences: The murder was to have awakened the sense of guilt in the people with the resulting reaction of remorse: The effect was the development in the course of centuries of monotheism among the Jewish people and the revival, in the form of the one and omnipotent God of heaven and earth, of the ancient father-imago of the primal-father.

It would be interesting to see, after noting where Sellin's assumption has led to, whether the events and circumstances of Moses' death as given in the traditional biblical version do not also coincide with Freud's psychological views.

Deuteronomy XXXI, 14—16 reads: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Behold, the days approach that thou must die: call Joshua,

and present yourselves in the tabernacles of the congregation, that I may give him a charge, and Moses and Joshua went, and presented themselves in the tabernacle of the congregation. And the Lord appeared in the tabernacle in a pillar of a cloud: and the pillar of the cloud stood over the door of the tabernacle. And the Lord said unto Moses, Behold, thou shalt weep with thy fathers; and this people will rise up, and go a whoring after the gods of the strangers of the land, whither they go to be among them, and will forsake me, and break my covenant which I have made with them." Can there be better proof for the correctness of Freud's assertion than that after the death of Moses the Jewish people did in fact forsake their religion and bow to strange gods?

One can well imagine such to have been Moses' own thoughts when he saw his last hour approaching. Thus, we read in Deuteronomy XXXIV: "And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the Lord shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, unto the utmost sea, And the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar. And the Lord said unto him, This is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto they seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither."

Even if we dispense with the holy word of the Bible, does not tradition itself tell us that Moses did not want to enter the Promised Land? Just then, on the eve of the victorious conclusion of the sublime work to which he had devoted his life, he was averse to consummation? Tragic thought! Yet even if we adhere to tradition it does not seem so improbable. The passages just quoted from the Bible clearly indicate that Moses was fully aware of his not having achieved his main aim in life, and of his failure to implant in the Jewish people belief in the one God, in Justice and Truth. They had remained fierce heathens. Who knew but that after his death his

whole endeavour might not fall to pieces. The generation that had come out of Egypt had by reason of its long bondage been broken and enslaved in soul. It was incapable of becoming a pure and holy people, of developing into a nation in which Justice and Truth and the belief in the one God should reign. He had sacrificed the whole generation, he had let them perish in the wilderness, and now when he came to the holy land to conquer it for the young generation — were they any better? Belief in God, the love of Truth and Justice, these are as far from them as they had been from their fathers. They were fierce and brutal and had already shown their worth and their capabilities during the first conquests in Transjordan, when he had taken up arms to tame them. Now, before his eyes, lay a beautiful and blossoming land whose inhabitants were quiet and peaceful. Pagans they were, belief in the one God was not theirs — but were they really worse than the fierce and brutal sons of the desert whom he had himself brought thither? Was that to be his life's work, his life's aim?

One of the most beautiful and profound Jewish legends tells us that in the days when he was still a shepherd out grazing the sheep of his father-in-law, Jethro, Moses once saw an eagle closely pursuing a small bird. The helpless little creature was on the point of being caught when Moses sped to its aid and put the eagle to flight. The latter remonstrated, saying: You can well afford to be magnanimous and just, but do you realise that my six little ones will die of hunger if I fail to catch my prey and tear it to pieces? — Whereupon Moses cut a piece of flesh from his own body and threw it to the eagle.

Moses' own situation during his last days was similar. Where was Justice, whom should he protect and whom lead? So Moses chose to go with no one: he stayed upon the hills and went to meet his death: "And the Lord spake unto Moses that selfsame day, saying, Get thee up into this mountain Abarim, unto mount Nebo, which is the land of Moab, that is over against Jericho; and behold the land of Canaan, which I give unto the children of Israel for a possession; And die in the mount whither thou goest up, and be

gathered unto thy people (XXXII, 48—50). So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And He buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Bethpeor; but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day (XXXIV, 5—6). ... And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days; so the days of weeping and mourning for Moses ended." (XXXIV, 8).

It seems to me that the impression made upon the people by the mysterious vanishing of their beloved and feared godly leader, who had guided them through the desert like a father, and preserved and protected them, could hardly have been less powerful than the one created by his murder. The consequent feeling of remorse and guilt was therefore greater, much more potent; — had not they themselves by their disobedience and their obstinacy driven him away and made his abode amongst them impossible? His patience had been exhausted, and he abandoned his people. He abandoned them in the time of great peril, in the decisive hour when the gates of the enemy had been reached and the bloody battle for life, for the conquest of the Promised land, was about to commence.

The people could not and did not want to believe that he had really left them. They wept and lamented; they hoped and waited; "thirty days... of weeping and mourning," but the knowledge of guilt and the remorse remained, and probably increased. If one may, as Sellin appears to do, link the messianic wish-phantasy with the death of Moses, I believe that it was just this mysterious disappearance together with the uncertainty about his death and the ever-recurring hope and waiting for his return, which provided the easiest and firmest impetus to the development of the wish-phantasy.

I have placed all this before you not because I believe the traditional version of Moses' death to be truer or more probable than Sellin's, but only in order to demonstrate that both versions can be equally accepted so far as Freud's conclusions and main ideas are concerned. What actually happened will probably remain an eternal mystery for mankind just as the figure that is Moses will

ever stay a myth. In this second treatise, which concerns itself with the personality of Moses, with the consequences of the assumption that "Moses was an Egyptian", Freud repeats that "once again it is only part of the whole, and not the most important part", for the most important part is the third.

History tells us the main facts and events of nations and states, of war and peace, of the life and death of kings and leaders, of the remoulding of state and economic systems, and so on. The histories of specific branches of human endeavour, such as art, literature, civilisation or economy, are founded on a similar basis; they begin with external, very able happenings, with basic factors, with essentials of life. These they collect, describe, analyse and collate so as to clarify and establish the inner cohesion and laws dictating the life of each nation in its own sphere.

But besides these actualities which appear on the surface life of a nation, to be examined by observer and investigator, there exists in the broad mass of the nation, in its secret soul, a silent, scarcely visible, hardly noticeable spiritual life which is the true life of the nation. This provides another field of development which may be termed the phylogenesis of the spiritual life of the masses. What direction does this development take, and goes on in this region?

Freud, who enlightened us about the ontogenetics of the soul, now gives us in his "Moses and Monotheism" a brief outline of the phylogenetic development in the growth of monotheism and the national character of the Jews.

Now and then, for reasons usually unknown to man, the germs of a vast new conception, of a spiritual revolution, take root and grow. Its origins veiled in obscurity, the first prophetic warnings quiver perhaps in the minds of individuals, until the coming of the Great Man, the genius, the spiritual hero who takes the tender seeds, develops and gives them a living force, and strives to convert them into reality. Usually he is confronted by a lack of understanding on the part of his contemporaries, often his deeds give rise to

indignation and hatred, he is persecuted and often has to pay with his life for his intrepidity in the struggle for the new truth.

Such was also the case with monotheism. "Political conditions in Egypt had about that time begun to exert a lasting influence on Egyptian religion. Through the victorious sword of the great conqueror Thothmes III Egypt had become a world power. Nubia in the south, Palestine, Syria and a part of Mesopotamia in the north had been added to the Empire. This imperialism was reflected in religion as Universality and Monotheism. Since Pharao's solicitude now extended beyond Egypt to Nubia and Syria, Deity itself had to give up its national limitation and the new God of the Egyptians had to become like Pharaoh — the unique and unlimited sovereign of the world to the Egyptians. Besides, it was natural that as the frontiers extended Egypt should become accessible to foreign influences: some of the king's wives were Asiatic princesses, and possibly even direct encouragement of monotheism penetrated from Syria."

"In the glorious Eighteenth Dynasty, about 1375 B.C., when Egypt became for the first time a world power, a young Pharaoh ascended the throne who first called himself Amenhotep (IV) like his father, but later on changed his name — and not only his name. This king undertook to force upon his subjects a new religion, one contrary to their ancient traditions and to all their familiar habits. It was a strict monotheism, the first attempt of its kind in the history of the world — as far as we know —. But Amenhotep's reign lasted only for seventeen years; very soon after his death in 1358 the new religion was swept away and the memory of the heretic king proscribed. From the ruins of his new capital which he had built and dedicated to his God, and from the inscriptions in the rock tombs belonging to it, we derive the little knowledge we possess of him. Everything we can learn about this remarkable, indeed unique, person is worthy of the greatest interest."

Moses, who was a contemporary of this king and was perhaps

even a courtier, as Freud believes, must have been well versed in these events; particularly as even Jewish tradition asserts that he was cognisant of all the mysteries of Egyptian wisdom. This fact holds good even if as some maintain he lived a few decades later, and is independent of whether he was Jewish or Egyptian. The monotheistic idea probably reached Moses by way of Ikhnaton, and he conveyed it, with a few alterations and additions perhaps, to the Jewish people. The latter, however, in the cultural state they were in at the time, could hardly have grasped and appreciated the exalted ideas and they must have been more or less forced upon the people by the mighty personality of Moses. It was no wonder that they became apostates after his death, and many years, centuries, elapsed before the time was ripe for the revival of Monotheism. During this latent period, though the new religion made little impression on the surface life of the nation, it fermented and seethed in the depths of the nation's soul until it returned in its most complete expression, as Moses had preached it to the people. Only then had it penetrated into the consciousness of the masses. We have a very detailed knowledge of a similar phenomenon in the personal spiritual life of the individual, a knowledge gained through the psychopathology of neuroses.

The psychoanalysis of neurotics has proved that neurosis is the result of experiences gathered during early childhood, up to the age of five. In the circumstances and conditions ruling in modern civilisation and education these are bound to be of a traumatic nature. They fade away in infantile amnesia and are not remembered in later life. Thanks to psychoanalysis we know that they consist of impressions and experiences of a sexual-aggressive nature. During or after the age of puberty they are restored to vitality and by forming divergencies of character and neurotic symptoms lead to the neurosis itself. The symptoms themselves are either repetitions of primal infantile instinctual impulses in a variety of distorted and essentially disguised forms, or defence-reactions of the instincts in the shape of inhibitions and

phobias (prohibitions). All these symptoms and character-divergencies are of an outspokenly obsessive nature in that they remain alien to the ego and retain a grain of the true and actual childhood experience. As is well known, these childhood experiences consist of the typical traumas and conflicts of the Oedipus and castration complexes and make up the so-called neurotic core.

The phylogenetic parallel to these phenomena are the conditions and events of primordial times, as described and clarified in "Totem and Taboo". The infantile desire of the child arising out of the Oedipus complex was actually carried into effect in primaeval days, in the childhood of the human race, by the murder of the step-father. And just as in the child of our times the overthrow of the Oedipus complex leads to the moral institution of the super-ego, so the murder of the primal-father had the corresponding result: the formation of religion, of morality, and of the first stirrings of civilisation. This is what prompts Freud to say that "The inhibitions, or even inability to deal with life, of people dominated by a neurosis are a very important factor in human society. The neurosis may be regarded as a direct expression of a fixation to an early period of their past." (p. 138 of the German edition).

What is Freud's conception of this fixation to the past? — "A new complication arises, however, when we become aware that there probably exists in the mental life of the individual not only what he has experienced himself, but also what he brought with him at birth, fragments of phylogenetic origin, an archaic heritage. In studying reactions to early traumata we often find to our surprise that they do not keep strictly to what the individual himself has experienced, but deviate from this in a way that would accord much better with their being reactions to genetic events, and in general can only be understood phylogenetically, in relation to the experiences of earlier generations. ...The behaviour of a neurotic child to his parents when under the influence of an Oedipus and castration complex is very rich in such reactions which seem

unreasonable in the individual and can only be understood phylogenetically, in relation to the experiences of earlier generations... The archaic inheritance of mankind includes not only dispositions, but also ideational contents, memory-traces of the experiences of former generations. ... On second thought I must admit that I have argued as if there was no question that there exists an inheritance of memory-traces of what our forefathers experienced, quite independently of direct communication and of the influence of education by example. When I speak of an old tradition still alive in a people, of the formation of a national character, it is such an inherited tradition — and not one carried on by word of mouth — that I have in mind. ... If we accept the continued existence of such memory-traces in our archaic inheritance then we have bridged the gap between individual and mass psychology, and can treat peoples as we do the individual neurotic. ... A tradition based only on oral communication could not produce the obsessive character which appertains to religious phenomena. It would be listened to, weighed and perhaps rejected, just like any other news from outside; it would never achieve the privilege of being freed from the coercion of logical thinking. It must first have suffered the fate of repression, the state of being unconscious, before it could produce such mighty effects on its return, and force the masses under its spell, such as we have observed — with astonishment and hitherto without understanding — in religious traditions. And this is a consideration which tilts the balance in favour of the belief that things really happened as I have tried to describe them — or at least very much in that way." (pp. 177—182).

In this "archaic inheritance", that is, in the inheritance of traces of psychical memories, Freud appears to see the psychobiological foundations of the spiritual-cultural development of the race. It consists in the first place of memory traces of that event of greatest moment in primordial times, the murder of the primal-father, and prepares the psycho-biological ground for the development of the Oedipus and castration complexes in the child. These

in turn condition the personality, and finally also the neurosis, in the present state of civilisation.

The second important moment in the development of Man Freud observes in the appearance of monotheism which seems, in its place in the spiritual development of mankind, to be parallel to what psychoanalysis means by the term "the return of the repressed", viz, the repetition of the primal-father-murder (Moses) as a reaction to which came a more or less lengthy latency period and the revival of the memory-traces of the "archaic inheritance", a sense of guilt, remorse and the resurrection of the godly father-imago in the person of the one God on a much higher spiritual and moral level.

With this monotheism takes a further and most important step forwards in the development of human spirituality, in becoming "human" in a a higher sense of the word. In a few strokes Freud traces out a splendid picture of this development of humanity towards spirituality.

Freud believes the first step in this direction to have been the development of language which in turn led to the further advance of thought. Man, who was then as it were drunk with the capacity to think, started to believe in the "omnipotence of thought": "We surmise that 'omnipotence of thought' was the expression of the pride mankind took in the development of language, which has brought in its train such an extraordinary increase in intellectual faculties. There opened then the new realm of spirituality where conceptions, memories, and deductions became of decisive importance, in contrast to the lower psychical activity which concerned itself with the immediate perceptions of the sense organs. It was certainly one of the most important stages on the way to becoming human." The second step was the discovery of the individual inner spiritual life, one's own soul: "Now the realm of spirits had opened for man, and he was ready to endow everything in nature with the soul he had discovered in himself." (p. 203).

The third step in the progress of spirituality came with the renunciation of the matriarchal system of society and its replacement by the patriarchal: "This turning from the mother to the father, however, signifies above all a victory of spirituality over the senses, that is to say a step forward in culture, since maternity is proved by the senses whereas paternity is a surmise based on a deduction and premiss. This declaration in favour of the thought process, thereby raising it above sense perception, was proved to be a step charged with serious consequences." Already in monotheism the father-imago reached a high degree of spiritualisation, which was again greatly advanced by the Mosaic prohibition to make images of God: "Through the Mosaic prohibition God was raised to a higher level of spirituality; the door was opened to further changes in the idea of God..." (p. 203).

The spiritualisation of the idea of God set its stamp on the whole further development and character of the Jewish people: "...by de-materialising God a new, valuable contribution was made to the secret treasure of the people. The Jews preserved their inclination towards spiritual interests. The political misfortune taught them to appreciate the only possession they had retained, their scripts, at its true value." (p. 203) The spiritualisation of God leads to higher ethical values: "God, however, becomes completely withdrawn from sexuality and raised to an ideal of ethical perfection. Ethics, however, means a restriction of instinctive urges. ...Though it may seem that ethics are not essentials of religion they are genetically closely related to it. Totemism, the first form of religion, is nothing but the renunciation of the instincts such as exogamy, the prohibition against killing the Totem, the granting of equal rights for all members of the brother-horde..." (p. 211) "In these rules we have to discern the first beginnings of a moral and social order." (p. 211) "And so religion continued to remain a source of ethics:" ...a part of its precepts (see the ethics) is explained rationally by the necessity to mark off the rights of the community against the individual, those of the individual against

the community, and those of individuals from one another. What, however, appears mysterious, grandiose and mystically self-evident owes its character to its connection with religion, its origin from the will of the father." (p. 216)

I have in the above attempted merely to recapitulate the main thoughts Freud develops in his book. I am not sure whether I have succeeded, but I wish to exculpate myself with the observation that the manner in which the book is fashioned has rendered my task very difficult. In this connection I may mention that "Moses and Monotheism" is a conspicuous exception to the usual run of Freud's works. One of the most admirable distinctive features of Freud's books is their fascinating architectoning structure. A whole book is unfolded before the reader as a single great syllogism: not a sentence superfluous, not a word may be omitted without damaging the whole. Such is not the case here; as Freud himself says, it is full of repetitions and digressions. It does not even have a unified theme: The personality of Moses and his fate, the development of monotheism, the advance of Man's spiritual life, the Israelites, their fate, their progress and character, — all these are presented side by side and intertwined; and in addition there are also reflections about antisemitism, about the great man himself, about the origin of Christianity, and others; all of which are replete with masterly ideas, which strike like lightning, shattering conceptions! Moreover, while hitherto a strictly didactic development of thought caused Freud to tame his mighty temperament, in this book it has broken through, and each page senses it. And if I may be permitted a personal remark I must confess that no other work of Freud affected me so much as this! In no other work is the full greatness of his personality so striking as here.

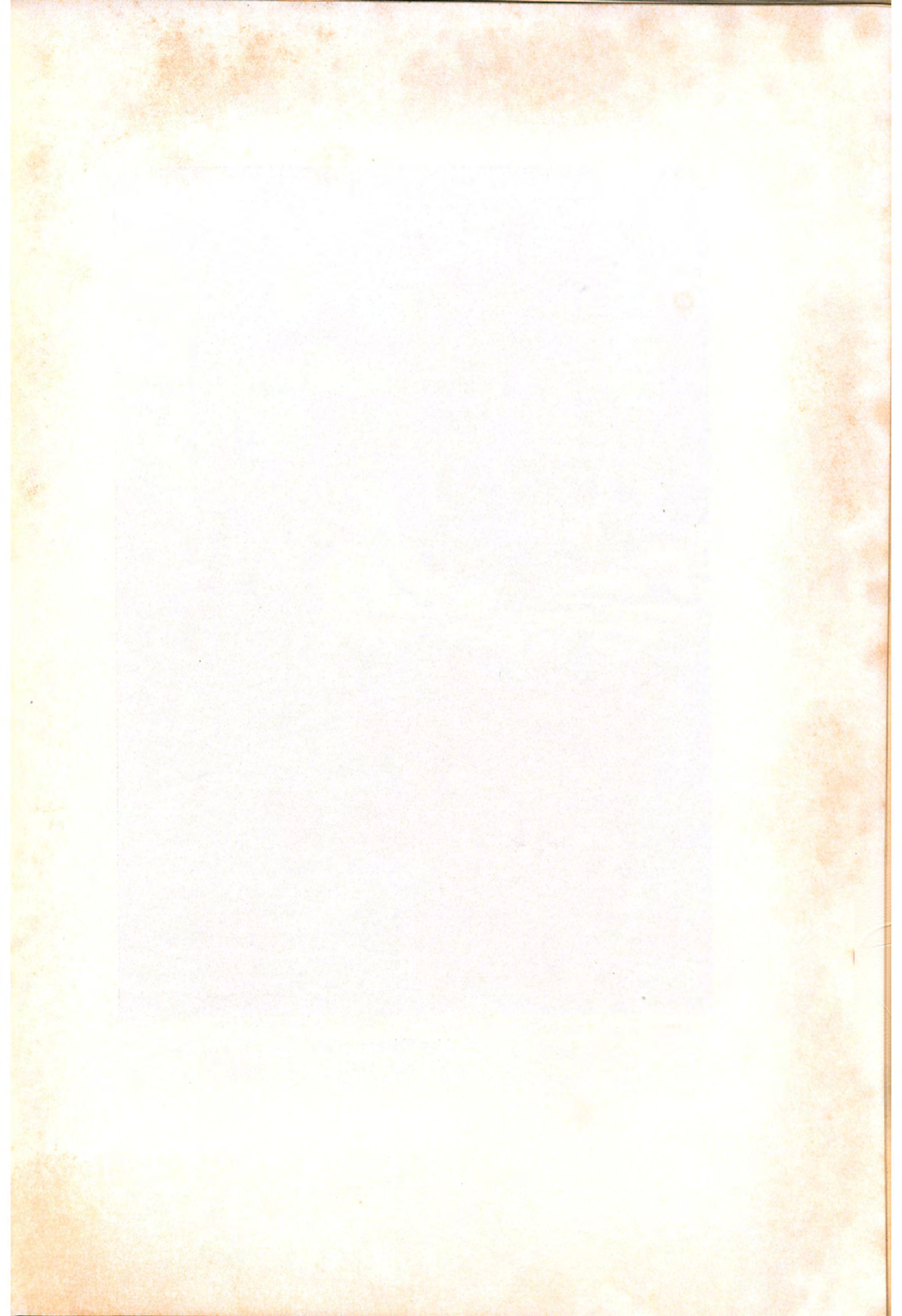
Many years ago I was walking through the streets of Vienna with a former pupil and close collaborator of Freud's. We were talking of him. Suddenly my companion stopped and in great agitation cried out, "You see, the man has absolutely original ideas of his own, thoughts no man else ever had before. They come in

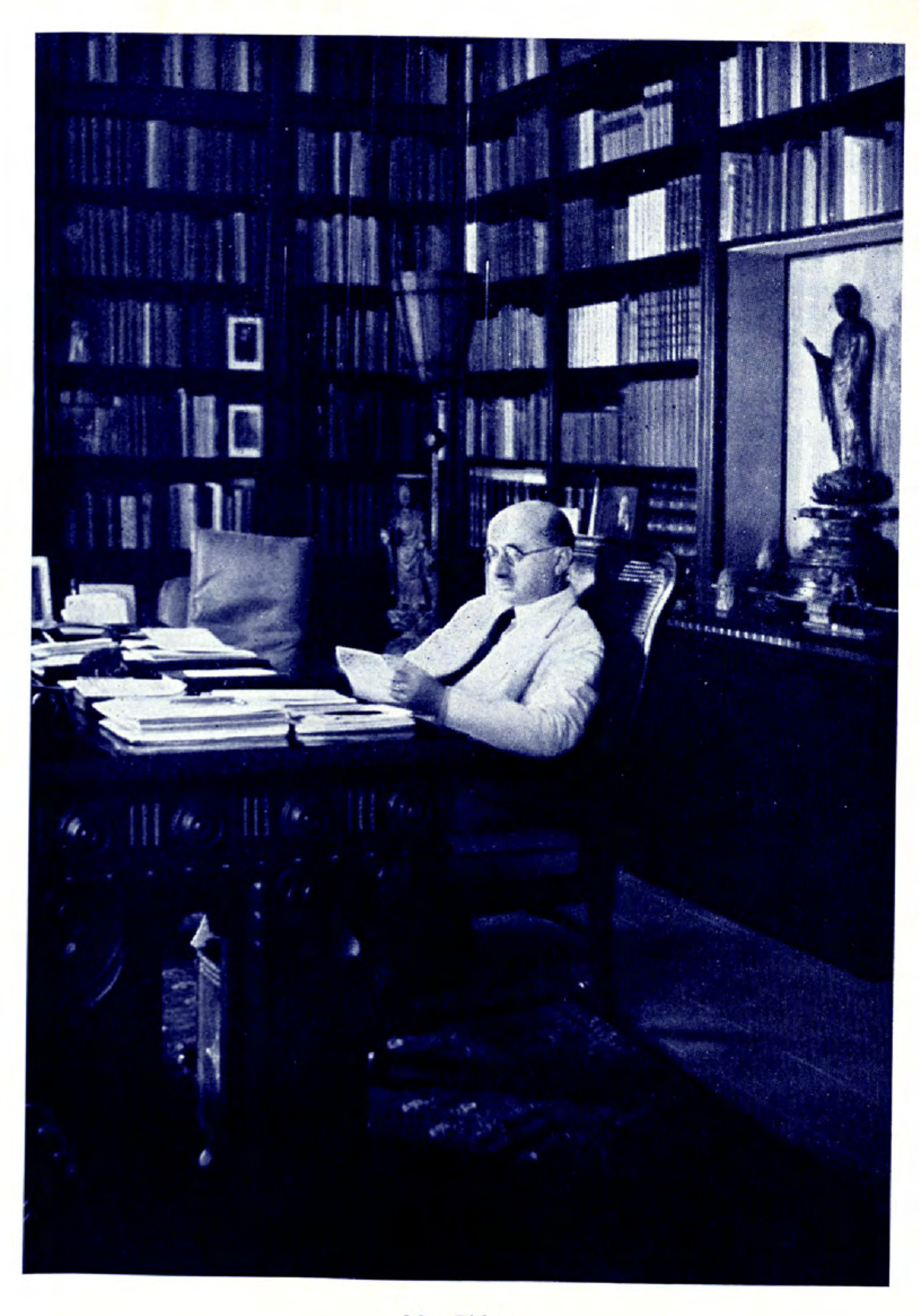
such a flood, they fill his head to an extent he himself cannot master — a ceaseless fount!"

I am reminded of this scene when I read his book "Moses". One gets the impression that he has by far not put down everything he had to say, that he has yet many a weighty thought to give; that with his last breath he made hurry to sketch out all that gushed from the world of his thoughts and his soul. Give that it should only not be wholly lost, for the end is approaching and his powers, as he himself says, no longer suffice.

He does not even trouble to adduce strict and unassailable proofs, and frequently admits that this or the other of his statements are but surmise or probability. "My Moses-Novel" is what he used to call the book in conversation. Why did he not say "Moses-Story"? Clearly because he was referring to the book's probability — or truth-content. The eternal question! Truth is — What? We say a statement is true if it fully corresponds to the actual facts of reality. But are those facts always so impervious to objection?

Freud himself speaks in his book of two types of truth, of an historical truth and of a material truth. About monotheism he says that from the viewpoint of material truth monotheistic religion, just as any other religion, is a craze. From an historical viewpoint, on the other hand, it is truth, since it repeats and revives a factual event in Man's prehistory that never ceased to live, exist and produce its effects in the human soul and decisively influence the entire progress of the human race. This is a truth which is a secret of the human soul, "an unconscious psychological truth", one of the many that Freud shed light on. Can we with the external world of facts at our disposal prove or confirm them? — Hardly! But may one, is one perhaps even obliged therefore, to deny these hidden truths? — Who dare! And so Freud called his book the "Moses-Novel". Such things do occur, in novels as in art: the whole may even be fictitious, invented, the fruit of phantasy from top to bottom, yet it nevertheless remains the highest and most profound truth, an inner truth of the human soul.





Max Eitingon
in his library 1943

On the Mysteries of the Ancient

by

Margot Klausner

Tel Aviv

I.

An essay on the ancient Mysteria from the historical, religious and psychological viewpoints faces exceedingly great difficulties, as the sources of the ancient writers are very sparse, and the life of the soul recognisable from the Mysteria so manifold and complex, that it requires great knowledge and care to shed light on the psychological backgrounds of the Mysteries.

As far as we know the ancient Mysteries spread over 2½ thousand years, from about 2000 B.C. to 500 A.D. They have found their direct continuation and development in the Mysteries of Christianity which fact has produced the astonishing result that the Christian Theologians are the most serious research workers on these most heathen of all forms of religion; they are anxious to interpret and understand the genesis of the Catholic Mysteria.

In India, in Central Asia, among the Druses in Syria and Palestine and certainly also with many other peoples of more primitive religious development, the Mysteries have to this day survived unchanged in their ancient form.

From old sources we have definite knowledge of the actual existence of the Mysteries with the following peoples (in chronological order): Egypt, Ugarith, Babylon, Crete, Samothrace, Hispania, Greece, within the whole of the Roman Empire and in Persia.

However, it was forbidden, at the risk of the death penalty, to speak or write about what had been experienced and seen. This law is still valid with the Druses up to this day, and is being observed most meticulously (a).

Alcibiades, the famous Greek commander and disciple of Socrates, only escaped the persecution and death penalty from revealing the Mysteries by, on this becoming known, being sent at once on a vital military mission of the State, even though Alcibiades had not told or written anything, but in his own house only imitated the symbolic actions of the Eleusinian Mysteria, acted them or, in literary translation "en-acted" them. This death penalty for the breaking of silence lends the explanation for the scarcity of sources on this vital artery of religious life. The authors only dropped hints on things which seemed to them allowed to be said (for not all that was done, said and experienced in the Mysteria came under this order of silence).

We owe the most detailed descriptions and hints to the early fathers of the church; among them particularly Clement of Alexandria (200 A.D. "Speeches of Admonition to the Greeks") and Julius Firmicus Maternus (about 350 A.D. "De Errore Profanarum Religionum") who, in their religious fervour for the new Christian dogma, were anxious to get to know the bottom of the heathen religions, and particularly the Mysteria, so as to be able to destroy them all the better with the weapons of exact knowledge. There-

a) Some years ago an Arab shepherd crept into the celebrations of the Mysteries of the Druses, where he was recognised by the following fact: during the common holy orgy which takes place during these celebrations every man is bound to seize some woman; he has to take the one next to him and is not allowed to choose. When he has seized her, he is bound to unfasten the belt of her clothes which in traditional form is very firmly knotted. Only the initiated have learnt how to unfasten these knots, and the ignorant shepherd was found out by the lack of this knowledge. He fled, with his life in danger, from the underground sanctuary to be chased by the Druses through the whole land until he was able finally to escape from his pursuers. These facts are so extraordinary that presumably they bear the stamp of truth.

fore, they allowed themselves to be initiated into the Mysteria in deliberate hostility, although it would sometimes take several years to achieve the various grades up to the highest one of epopty (perceptibility, contemplation) in order to make them known to the world with a distinctly recognisable negative tendency. Obviously their venom and scorn were particularly directed against the sexual symbolism and the sexually stressed actions in the Mysteria. We owe a great debt of gratitude to these fathers of the church because, without them, we would never have got to know the inside story of the Mysteria. It is obvious that we do not know everything; it is equally obvious that, by comparing and putting together of details like mosaics, we may arrive at faulty conclusions. The Mysteria of the various religions—although they vary according to time and place, culture and religion, it is true, are nevertheless identical at the core.

In spite of the imposition of silence, we can retrace echoes of the Mysteries in all ancient and modern literatures. It is here that the death voyage of Gilgamesch belongs, the myth of the creation of the world by the Babylonians, the descent into hell of Ishtar, the death myths of Osiris, Adonis and Attis, the walk to Hades of Orpheus, Odysseus and Theseus, the invocation of the witch of Endor by King Saul, the descent into hell of Virgil's Aeneas led by the Sybil of Cumae in whose footsteps follows Dante's voyage to hell, — the Venus Mount of Tannhaeuser, the descension of Faust to the Mothers, the many popular legends in which the heroes are thrown into abysses and dragon caves to be tested and to mature, and an unending stream of other examples.

* * *

The drama of the Greeks had its highest aims in presenting the great passions and instincts of men which, in their highest potency, endanger and destroy human society in leading them ad absurdum through the fall of the hero and his death. The spectator,

by witnessing that, freed and redeemed his own soul to a certain extent. He saw the abyss before his eyes and, through the excitement of witnessing, through the expression in words of sin on the stage, he returned into his own existance cleansed and purified. As from a frightning dream of being murdered, he returned into reality a happier person, with the murder of the dream and the play still remaining in his fancy.

But however powerful the influence of the drama might have been, it remained completely outside a control and without certainty of its effect; one spectator was being moved, and the next one was not. One knew death, the other passed by unmindfully.

Note, on the other hand, the Mysteries. During the three different stages of initiation which extend over three years a most serious selection of men takes place, a selection by priests in Eleusis for instance who, for 800 years, used to hand this office down from father to son. Even from the first beginnings of admittance to the small Mysteries which used to be celebrated in Athens in the February of each year in honour of Dionysos — even then man in his entity was included in the "action of drama". Whatever happened or had to happen did so to h i m, alone and in person, even though he sometimes was in the company of the "Brethren in the Mysterium". The arrangement of the happenings witnessed, the external rites, the doing and viewing, the experience and the fascination of it were psychologically built up and thought out in such a way that none who happened into it could exclude his own self. In the same way as one is bound to feel the cold or the fire when jumping into a black water-filled pit or walking on burning ground. (These are two examples from the tests of Egyptian Mysteries.)

By the time the individual had achieved the highest grade of initiation he had experienced such a purification of his soul through the viewing of the very origin of things — as the ancient understood it — he had imbibed so much wisdom, that the possibility of his remaining untouched (that existed when he was

merely a spectator of the drama) was excluded. That is to say: Mysterium and Drama originate from the same sources. The effect of the Mysteries was, however, far more profound, more fruitful and pregnant with cognition.

Comprehension of the origin of life was, however, basically changed by monotheism, by the destruction, or — let us put it better — by the attempt of destruction of the female principle in the spiritual cosmos of the world which was begun by Judaism and continued to be preached by the church of Christ and by Islam. As a result, the very expression of the antique "Weltanschauung", the Mysterium, which had been created by the mothers, was destined to decline, and only the drama as one expression of the antique soul, was salvaged into our times. The resurrection of the dead is being shown in the Mystery but not in the drama of man, as the life of the hero terminates with his death. Every Mystery of God is, therefore, in a final sense, solacious — every drama of man — fatal...

The Mysterium has survived to this day in two ways: —

(1) in its original form — with the Druses and primitive peoples of Central Asia or, in its symbolic form: in the "Lord's Supper" and in the "Holy Communion", in monasteries, in asceticism, cell penitence, imposition of silence, celibacy, etc.

(2) in our time in a completely sublimated and renewed form — in the Mysterium of self-knowledge, of descending into the darkness of one's own soul, in delving into the very instincts of one's own and others — in Psycho-analysis.

* * *

Many forms of human feeling which are partly incompatible and contradictory, and many others unnamed have found their expression in the Mysteries.

(1) Insight into the perpetual circles of nature, life and death, the change of the seasons, death and resuscitation in nature.

(2) The fear of extinction of a man's soul and his will to secure his personal immortality by being included in the circle of life and death. (If the dead seed-corn, out of the mother's womb of the earth, can rise again as a grain before the eyes of the mysts, man recognises from this that he only has to find the right preparation for death to be resurrected himself.

(3) The consciousness of man's own sin and the certainty of being able to attain the future life by overcoming sin.

(4) The knowledge of the holiness and power of sex as the origin of life, the desire for reunion with the earth, with the mother, and with death as the ultimate happiness and as the deliverance from sin. This union is being lifted into an elevated, purified and sublimated sphere so as to lose the earthly-sinful, and in doing so it experiences the tabu of union with the mother in sacred ecstasy.

(5) The most-hidden-away desire of the human to see and witness the process of procreation outside himself is also being granted to the initiated, but again on the level of sublimated spiritual experience and elevated sensuousness: the interpretation and showing of the virgin birth.

(6) In order to achieve all this, many demands are made on the mysts by the priests: the ritual bath, sexual abstinence, fasting, clean garments, the sacrifice, the meal shared by all, the garland of myrtle, the pilgrimage, the order of silence, the confession, the loneliness, the personal cleanliness in the moral sense, and many more.

A whole world of wonders is being proffered by the priests: liturgies and incense, acceptance of the confession and personal tests, intoxicating drinks and music, — noises which lift the myst into the greatest ecstasy. Furthermore, the descent into hell which everyone has to live through personally and alone. The ritual drama, the martyrdom of the god, the sacrifices before the eyes of the community and of the individual, the demonstration of the sacred symbols, the performance of the holy wedding (Hieros-

gamos), and the symbolic re-birth of the killed god. And finally the grandiose presentation of the resurrection of the god and the personal experience of the Elysian fields and of Paradise.

The theoretical account goes to show how many elements of the soul and the body which seem heterogeneous to us, people of to-day, are connected with one another. It is an astonishing and incomprehensible fact, however, that all these incompatible components combine to create an unimagined chance of happiness and make possible a sublimation of feeling which we to-day can only guess at but not experience by ourselves. Aristides, Roman Rhetor of the second century A.D. says about this: (Eleusinia p. 296): "Eleusis is a sanctuary common to he whole of the earth, and of all the sacred institutions which men possess, it is the only one which excites the greatest possible awe while simultaneously giving the greatest measure of felicity" (b).

II.

The Mysteries of Eleusis had three grades of initiation: the Small Mysteries celebrated in the temple of Dionysus in Athens in the February of each year, the Great Mysteries in September, and probably simultaneously the highest grade, the Epopty (the gazing, the viewing), which, however, was accessible only to the selected of the Great Mysteries, one year after their initiation at the earliest. In the same way, only those were admitted to the Great Mysteries who had successfully acquitted themselves of the Small ones, and after the completion of the cycle everyone was free to take part in all ceremonies again and again at will. It was the custom for the initiated of the Mysteries of Dionysus and Demeter to have themselves initiated, later on, into those of Or-

b) The description of the Mysteries of Egypt and Ugarith has here been left out; it is contained in the book "On the Sources of the Drama" which will be published shortly. (*The Author*).

pheus, Isis or Osiris, or the other gods; for each new initiation meant an increased holiness of the man, a greater certainty of his felicity in the future world. From this fact of the relationship of the Mysteries which was already recognised by the ancient it is evident that the various natural religions of the Mediterranean are all based on the same principle of the secret of growth and the cosmos of the sexes. It was recognised that only the names and the language — according to country, climate and custom — might be varied but that the symbols and content were always the same. The rite took place like this.

For the festival of the Small Mysteries, the sacred objects were taken from the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis to Athens, and there deposited in the innermost locked sanctuary. And here, behind locked doors, the Passion of Dionysus — as far as the traditions can be interpreted — found its grand representations. We may presume that in the Passion of Dionysus the procreation of this god by Zeus and his virgin daughter Persephone whom he had from his sister Demeter was hinted at. The offspring of this only procreation, Dionysus, according to an old prophecy, is supposed to become the heir to the ruler of the world, Zeus. Playfully the child puts his father's crown on his head and occupies his throne. Secretly there appear the former enemies of Zeus, the now defeated Titans, tear him to pieces and scatter his limbs.

This same dismemberment happened to Osiris in Egypt. The sister of Dionysus, the virgin Athene (the same who, in Ugarith, as Canaan deity in the Semitic version is called Anath) takes the yet beating heart of the dismembered god and, lamenting, carries it to Father Zeus. He accepts it and recreates this son in the mortal Semele. However, during the nine months of her pregnancy, Semele has to die because, incited by Hera, she wished to see Zeus in his divine splendour and was unable to bear the sight. The mother Semele therefore descended into Hades, and Zeus sewed the unborn baby into his thigh from which he was later reborn a second time. (Hence his name in popular ancient Etymology

Dithyrambus — "he who passed through two doors".) In his second birth from the earthly mother and the divine father he achieved all that made him great: to teach vinegrowing, agriculture, singing, the drama, the holy orgies of the women, and in his name the overcoming of one's personal loneliness by the common experience of art. (See F. Nietzsche "The Origin of the Tragedy.")

At the end of the Passion of Dionysus, there was, in the Small Mysteries, the moving spectacle of the resurrected Dionysus freeing his earthly mother Semele from the depths of Hades, from the grave, associating with her and taking her, the re-born who is now called by the name of a goddes, Thyone, up with him to the serene heights of Olympus. All this was shown to the mysts in torch-lit caves after they had prepared themselves for these Small Mysteries by fasting, purification, abstinence, ritual garments, prayer and song.

The Great Mysteries of Eleusis were a state institution which were announced all over Greece six weeks before their beginning. During the ten days of the festival, wars and feuds were interrupted. The grandiose procession from Athens to Eleusis took place unguarded, as the holiness of the festival was greater than any desire to rob or murder. The sacred objects were taken back from Eleusis to Athens, and the festival began with the cry by the heralds "Mysts to the Sea!" Then the host of the mysts rushed to the sea to rinse off all their sins in the salty waves. By fasting, abstinence from meat and wine, the mysts had already been shaken up in body and soul. (In all religions, fasting is regarded as a proper preparation for the Conception, be it the union with God as on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) and Good Friday, or the physical-mystical nuptials on which occasion Jews have to fast, too. The year of Shmitah, i.e. every seventh year in which a field, according to the Mosaic Law, has to remain uncultivated, the year of fasting of the earth, has the same background.)

Each Myst used to bring a young pig for his first sacrifice on which, by ritual proceedings, he would deposit his own sins, thus

becoming purified. Afterwards these animals were burnt and their remains eaten in a common ritual supper.

In the Holy Cyst, the basket which is carried high on the heads of the priests (which is the equivalent of the wicker-basket of Moses or other heroes) the cut-off phallus of Dionysus is being carried around, together with bread cakes and other mother symbols. The phallus is represented as a snake. (Compare the symbol of Asclepius, the staff round which a snake winds itself.)

Accompanied by songs and instrumental music, hymns and dances, the procession would move along the broad road to Eleusis. Halts were made next to holy shrines; on these occasions, there existed a habit of having the country's great shown by mimes in grotesque representation; a halt was made at the olive-tree and at the fountain where Demeter had been sitting as an alien supplicant at her entrance into the fields of Eleusis. High above the heads of the crowd the holy symbols were carried veiled, and at dusk put down again in the innermost sanctuary. Priests and priestesses proclaimed their messages, which have not been handed down to us, and in the first night all rested from their travels.

The exact sequence of the ritual proceedings, ceremonies and hymns cannot be laid down definitely for any of the Mysteries that are known to us. Doubtless the first part was dedicated to the personal experience of the tests and the descent into hell. In key-words one of the old writers tells of the Phrygian Mysteries: "There is darkness, meetings with dragons, imprisonment in a dark cell, out of it a second birth, admonition to purification, tearing up of the god, screams of the lamenting mourners. The mother of gods, Rhea, searches for the god, torch-bearing, snake-belted. Spectacles of hell's torments, illuminations — then Elysian fields." Another poet tells of the sweat, fear, flood, darkness, fire, death (see Apuleius, Metarmophoses p. 303) : "I walked up to the border line between life and death. I entered the door step of Proserpina (Latin name of Persephone) and, after I had passed through all the elements, I returned once more. At the time of the deepest midnight I saw

the sun shine in its brightest light; I gazed upon the lower and the higher gods face to face and prayed to them while near them." —

At last — after all these sufferings — the Neophyte arrived at the Elysian fields. He saw gods and heroes promenade and was allowed to eat, drink and dance with them. He heard the music of Aeolsharps and the choir of the divine gods. He himself became a god after he had conquered death. He came to know himself in all this. And Clement of Alexandria says: "If anyone knows himself he will recognise God, and once he knows God he will be made equal to him." — Plutarch says in his "Treatise of the Soul": "After the horror, shudder and astonishment you meet with pure abodes and meadows which delight you with song and holy visions." —

In this descent into hell at Eleusis not only should the conquering of death by the individual and his self-knowledge be conveyed but everyone was to experience on himself the fate of Persephone, her descent into Hades and Demeter's tearful wanderings.

The next day was dedicated to sacrifices and to viewing the sacred objects. What were these? in the holy cyst — the basket — there was probably, as the main symbol, the phallus in the shape of a golden snake. But apart from this, Clement of Alexandria recounts, in quoting the Thracian poet Orpheus: "Pine-cones and tops and limb-bending toys, apples, even the beautiful golden ones of Hesperus' singing daughters. Besides dice and ball, mirror and a fleece". On a painting at Pompey portraying a wedding mysterium, the Holy Basket is shown open. In it there are delicious fruits of all kinds, and an erected phallus stands up. The cyst is sometimes depicted on coins; out of its half-open lid the snake lifts its head. The analysis of these objects shows the relationship to the sexual symbols, just as the toys of little girls, ball, doll, mirror, which were offered to Artemis or Hera by the bride at each wedding. The Apple of the Hesperides, or the pome-granate which Persephone eats of in Hades is, like in the garden of Eden, the symbol of the consummation of marriage. The fleece is the skin of the kid, which will be dealt with later on.

The viewing of the sacred objects was followed by the Mystery of the Rain. With hymns and prayers Heaven was implored: "Give your seed!" they chanted, pouring the jugs of water on the soil. "Become pregnant!" they said to the earth, bowing down. And there was the wonder of the wheat sheaf. In front of the silent crowd the priest dropped wheat seeds into the earth out of which "grew" high sheaves before their astonished eyes. When they had attained their natural height the priest solemnly cut them off and took them into the innermost sanctuary.

On the following day the play of Demeter and Persephone took place. It was probably presented along the lines of the Homeric Hymns. It showed how Persephone, playing on a green meadow, was kidnapped by the ruler of Hades. The Earth opened and devoured her. The news of the kidnapping reached the Mother of the Earth—Demeter — but nobody could tell her where the girl had been taken. For nine days she roved with flaming torches in her hand; she did not eat nor drink until she came to Eleusis, to the house of Keleos. There, to the goddess Demeter who appeared in the shape of an elderly woman was entrusted the nursing of the sickly new-born baby of the house who from now on developed splendidly. But his mother mistrusted the nurse and when, one day, she surprised her, the goddess, while holding the baby into the flames to give him immortality, she deprived Demeter of her post. In scorn the goddess revealed herself, and in order to expiate their guilt, Keleos decided to build an altar and a sanctuary for her.

The sorrow of the goddes over her lost daughter becomes ever more powerful; she refuses fertility to the earth; in vain oxen furrow the field, hunger and distress spread over the land. When Demeter refuses to listen to the laments of gods and men, Zeus orders Persephone to spend only a third of each year with her husband, and the other two thirds on Olympus with her mother. Zeus was unable to tear her away altogether from her husband, as Hades had made her taste part of the fruit of the pome-granate which bound her to him for ever.

Demeter's woeful wanderings and her final happiness form the main elements of the votive play. It ended with white shining overwhelming light, surprising the consecrated after their night's wanderings. This light — they called it the Midnight Sun — is the symbol of resurrection after death. Immersed in it stood the two goddesses — statues or living women — before the blinded eyes of the spectators in the middle of the night. And this gave to the initiated the deep conviction of their own resurrection after their deaths.

The last day was dedicated to the miracle or votive play of Zeus and Demeter. We do not know exactly what happened; only one tale has been handed down to us: in the light of torches which every participant would be carrying, the priestess who represented Demeter was dragged away against her resistance by the priest representing Zeus. These two had to remain chaste for one year. In solemn silence the torches were extinguished, and in the small crypt next to the great hall, the priest and the priestess consummated the holy marriage; observed, — and yet not seen by the crowd, overheard and in sacred awe. When the act was completed silence remained for a further short while after which came the joyful shout: "The Holy Brimo, the gnashing one, has given birth to the Holy Brimos!" And with the birth of this child who had, so to speak, been procreated, carried and born under the eyes of the crowd, unrestrained jubilation began. The Saviour had been born...

The highest grade of initiation probably took place following the Great Mysteries or simultaneously with them, but completely separated from them. The content of this so-called Epopty were the actions connected with the sacred objects to the look of which the myst had already accustomed himself during the Great Mysteries. The ritual was accompanied by fixed formulas and is only known to us by fragments from various countries as well as by a few pictures. The most famous vase painting shows: the Myst is sitting on a low stool, clad in a long flowing garment, his head concealed by the skin of a kid. In front of him a priest in

his long, womanish garment, with his hair bound up in a womanish way, (man and woman look similar, their exterior is like that of the Greek orthodox Catholic priests) who, from a jug pours out a mixt potion, into a vessel which he is about to hand to the Neophyte. Behind the priest the figure of a woman — the substitute of the goddess — with her torch lowered. To the left in the background a smaller figure holding the holy cyst in his hands. In another picture Demeter is sitting on the cyst.

The texts of the formulae of initiation were the following at Eleusis: "I have fasted, I have imbibed the mixed potion, the Kykeon. I took it from the cyst, worked with it, put it back into the basket, from the basket back into the cyst." ("It" here means the holy object.)

Of the Cretan Mysteries of Sabazios, and original form of Zeus. Arnobius quotes: "In these sacred actions a golden snake is introduced into the bosom, to be extracted again from the lower and lowest parts" (of the body).

What is the meaning of these mysterious formulae? The Kykeon which is drunk is a mixture of flour, water and aromatic ingredients of plants. It is the same potion which Demeter accepted on her arrival at Eleusis as, because of her mourning, she would not drink wine. At that time she had been fasting for nine days. The fruit of the earth, the wheat, and the abounding "water of life" are united in it as a wedding symbol. Furthermore, it seems that the actions with the golden snake which bodily touched the genitals of the myst, by its being drawn along his body, identified him with the god. As the phallus in the cyst symbolises the one of the dismembered Dionysus, the myst, by this symbolic action, is equally dismembered, castrated, killed — he becomes like the god, he himself becomes Dionysus. The nuptials with Demeter are represented by replacing the golden phallus, the symbol of Dionysus, in its original position in the basket and the cyst, the symbol of Demeter. (In Egypt, Isis threw herself on the murdered Osiris and conceived form the dead god her son Horus.)

Perhaps it may seem bold to regard the symbol of the kid skin (which occurs in the Demeter mythos as well as on the pictural documents of the Mysteries) as an identification of man or woman with the new-born kid. It seems justified when, as a result of comparing the various cults, one realises that the new-born kid is always used to by the ancient tale identified with the human embryo or the infant.

Already Rambam in his book "Guide the Erring" (moreh newuhim) claims that the interdictions of the Thora to seethe the kid in the milk of its mother derives from the fact that it was a precept of the cult of Astarte at celebrations to seethe the kid in his mother's milk. We have found the confirmation for Rambam's claims in the tablets of Ugarith-Shamra, in the song about the birth of the divine gods in which the seething of the kid in the milk is expressly ordered. Thanks to Sir James Frazer's basic work and Dr. Wulff's psychological interpretation of the Ras Shamra precept and of the Thora interdiction, it has become evident that the seething of the kid in his mother's milk is a fertility spell in which the life of the embryo in his mother's womb is being magically repeated. It was presumed that the baby in his mother's womb drinks the same food that it does after birth, that is mother's milk.

A first proof for the identification of the Neophyte in the Mysteries with the infant is the fact that in the course of his initiation he, too, receives milk and honey for a beverage, the taste of which equals the taste of mother's milk. From this relationship of earth and mother there probably originates the term of the land "where milk and honey flows."

We know from the Mysteries of Eleusis that a second birth takes place out of the mother — out of death — out of the grave. We have, however, no direct proof of this from Eleusis itself; this became known to us from the Sicilian gold tablets of the Orphic Mysteries which mean a higher development of the Mystery of Demeter and Dionysus. By the Orphics, the proceedings and precepts of the Mysteries as well as the texts were given to the dead and put into their graves, so that they — a similar habit to the one with the Egyptian Book of the Dead — should carry them with them. In this way, the secrets of the Mysteries were not being revealed as the dead were unable to speak to the living.

The likening of the rites of the dead and of the Mysteries was

possible, because, according to the views of the ancient (Plutarch: "De perfectione in virtibus", p. 10), "the soul in dying experiences the same as in the great initiations", i. e. real death is equal to the death in the Mysteries.

The following is a quotation from the gold tablet of the dead woman Caecilia Secundina in a translation from the original text:

"The Priest: Happy and blessed will he be — a god instead of mortal, the kid has fallen into the milk.

"Caecilia: And now I come, a supplicant, to the sublime Persephone, so that mercifully she send me to the fields of the blessed.

"The Priest: Happy art thou who hast suffered the sorrow that you hadst never suffered before.

Thou becamest a god instead of man — a kid thou hast fallen into the milk."

Here, in this word about the kid that fell into the milk, the Mysterium lies revealed, expressed in words: i. e. the man who associates with his mother and lives on her milk in her womb is to be re-born out of her. In a sublimated state of trance man experienced becoming one with his mother; his knowledge, which had so far remained unconscious, of his life in his mother's womb, and his birth from the night of her womb into the light. In this way man carried away for life and up to his death the conviction of resurrection from the grave. And ever-lasting worship for the earth and her motherliness.

We of to-day can only admire, in deep astonishment, the profound wisdom of those who elevated the recognising of this process of life to be the most sublime religion.

III.

REMARKS ON THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

These remarks are meant to include only a few of the motives of the Mysteries. It was mentioned in the description of the rites that

a young pig was sacrificed and burnt by the participants of the rites who together partook of its remains. — The young pig here plays the role similar to the scape-goat of the ancient Hebrews, which, laden with the sins of the entire people, was sent into the desert on the day of the great repentance, the Day of Atonement. — In our Eleusinian rite the sacrifice of the pig means something very much alike: the very animal was chosen which, as a symbol of fertility a n d of dirt, was able to absorb human sinfulness as a sponge does with water. The sacrificing myst was delivered from sin, the sin-laden animal was destroyed in the flames (c).

If, therefore, at the beginning of the Mysteries a meal consisting of the remains of burnt pigs was eaten, a union with the principle of motherly fertility was achieved in a magic way. This means that there existed a strongly ambivalent relationship to the motherly-sinful. Saying Yes to her fortility, expressed by lust, while saying No to sinfulness. The significance of this meal was rated so highly that after the meal every myst would receive a saffron bandage to enclose wrist and ancle with (perhaps an association of ideas with yellow wheat) in order to distinguish the Neophyte from the crowd.

* * *

Tradition has it that in the Small Mysteries three great mythological dramas are being represented. The union of Zeus the father with his daughter Persephone, the dismemberment of their son Dionysus by the Titans, and as a third one: the Oedipus-like union of the son Dionysus with his second mortal mother Semele-Thyone whom he fetches up from Hades. — On closer examination of these three basic themes we shall have to discover with surprise that

c) It may be, that, in addition to various rational or mythological motives, (it was a wild boar that killed Tamus-Adonis) this ancient knowledge of the receptability of the pig for sins — alias for dirt — is one of the deepest psychological reasons for the strict refusal of the Jews, Egyptians, Arabs, etc. to eat porc.

these actions arise from the basic instincts underlying human family conflicts, thus becoming the basic subjects of all dramas in the world. The Holy Wedding of Zeus and Persephone is, of course, also a magic fertility spell symbolising the father-daughter-relationship, celebrated behind closed doors in the temple of Dionysus at Athens between the priest-king Basileus and the high priestess Basileia, and watched by the silent crowd outside the temple.

In the representations of the union of Zeus-Father with his daughter Persephone, who gives birth to Dionysus, we seem to find the key and approach to one of the great secrets of the old religions: it is the question-mark before the concept of the "Virgin Birth". Persephone is a virgin who is deprived of her virginity by her father, and after this one act which was forced upon her, she gives birth to the boy Dionysus. — Here are several parallels to this happening: Danae, the daughter of King Akrisius, is imprisoned by her father in a tower where she is being made pregnant by the golden rain — Zeus — that penetrates through the roof. She gives birth to the hero Perseus. — Myrrha, the daughter of King Cinyras, being a virgin expected to sacrifice her virginity to a stranger in the temple of Aphrodite, is made the mother of Adonis by her own father. — All these births are called "Virgin Births" by the ancient. Probably this reflects the memory, that in ancient times not a husband had to undertake a girl's defloration, but her father or a priest; and in cases where a child resulted from this one act through no fault of the girl's, quite rightly a virgin conception could be claimed. (Up to this day in India, a woman who marries an elderly and impotent man is led to a priest in a temple during her wedding night.) — Into the same category of immaculate conception there belong all those women who remained childless in their married lives: — like Sarah, the mother of Isaac, who is visited by the angels whom she laughed at; like Hannah, the mother of the prophet Samuel; like the nameless woman who walks into a field, there to conceive the hero Simson; like Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist; — and like Mary, wife of Joseph of Emmaus, who gave birth to Jesus.

Persephone, too, from whom we started out in this essay, is always described as a "Virgin" who is raped by Pluto, the king of Hades, although she bore Dionysus to Zeus before and not after her wedding. —

The core of the Small Mysteries was the dismemberment of the god Dionysus, the laments for him, and his resuscitation by his sister Athene and his father Zeus. His death was probably preceded by the adventures and experiences of this god.

The same Passion of Dionysus was each year represented at many places during the popular wine feasts of Dionysus, i.e. according to the special Totem clan by ram-footed Satyrs or horse-hoofed Centaurs. There the same Passion was played as a comedy. Of those jolly fellows who used to accompany the procession of Dionysus, called the "Komoi", there derives our word "Comedy" (the ode of the Komoi). This fact is proof that Tragedy and Comedy — as Plato claims — originate from the same root and, in supplementation of this word about the same root, have the same contents, except with contrary final aims; in Comedy turning towards Life, in Tragedy towards Death. Tragedy i.e. tragos (he-goat) and ode; the young he-goat is the symbol of Dionysus.

Historians of later epochs describe the laments for the dead and dismembered Dionysus or Attis in such a way that the wailing and weeping, the self-flagellation, the tearing of one's own garments and the pulling out of one's hair removed those present into a frenzy of suffering which, as a result of complete loss of restraint in an outburst of passion, also assumed obscene and sexually-orgiastic features. It seems that this tragic orgy (orgy means the feast of barley) in the Mysteries of the aesthetic and cultured Greeks did not lead to complete promiscuity.

All the happenings of the Great Mysteries aim at the personal experiences and tests of the myst. From Egyptian traditions which are undocumented but have been kept alive to this day, i. e. in the Mysteries of the Druses, we may deduce that, in connection with the purification of their souls and their fasting, the mysts were confronted with a personal temptation which they were bound to resist. Probably these temptations were of a twofold nature: after fasting and thirsting, food and drink was put before them which

they were not allowed to touch, and after strong erotic physical and mental excitements all kinds of temptations for body and soul were prepared for the myst, to which he must not succumb. In addition, there were the severest bodily dangers during the descent into hell, walking through fire, remaining alone in the dark beside fast-flowing cataracts and precipices, illusions of giant wild beasts about to throw themselves on the individual — all this is known to us not from Eleusis direct but from later, mostly Hellenistic sources.

The most intense experience, however, in Eleusis is the procreation of the god and his birth.

* * *

The third part — Epopty — presents the viewing of the ultimate secrets of life, which are the basic ones, the simplest ones, and simultaneously the most sublime and profound ones. The most astonishing phenomenon is the identification of the myst with the new-born child, or with a young ram. We know from all mythologies that the new-born child is identified with the young ram. Christ is called 'The Lamb of God.' When the myst is identified with the young ram this means experiencing new birth out of death and becoming like the new-born god: Dionysus, who, personified by a young ram, is dismembered every year by the Bacchae, his women followers.

For this reason, the "Book of the Dead" of the Orphics of Sicily may very well be interpreted as an explanation of the Eleusinian concept of resurrection. These acts of the Orphic Mysteries are basically related to the Eleusinian ones.

For an explanation of the above-mentioned astonishing Mystery poem the following facts should be kept in mind:—

In order to understand the meaning of the words "I am the kid that has fallen into the milk" it is not sufficient to draw a comparison with the Jewish interdiction from the Thora and with the law of

Ugarith "You are to seethe the kid." For a better understanding further comparisons must be taken into consideration; only then will it become evident why Demeter sits on a kid, why the Bacchae wore roe skins round their bodies (for an identification with Dionysus), and why the "Epoptes", in the highest grade of initiation, was made to wear a kid skin on his body. — In the Egyptian Mysteries there is a remarkable habit: in the Mysteries of resurrection the dead Osiris is put on a bier; the priest identifying himself with him lies down on another bier and is enveloped in the skin of a newly slaughtered cow. From this skin cradle he emerges as "newly-born", i. e. Osiris lay in the womb of a cow and is being re-born as a he-goat. Kings also had to undergo the same rites. It was the foetus re-born from his mother's womb. This mother's womb, in the form of a cow skin, was later replaced by the milk bath and the drinking of this milk. Scholars think, that in the Orphic Mysteries, this milk bath in a large kettle on a tripod actually did take place. There are many features in the Greek Mystery which indicate the belief that seething the limbs of a dismembered human being in milk revives him. (See the Euripides fragment "The Daughters of Peleas", or the regeneration of Osiris and of Dionysus from their dismembered limbs.) There is something else that points to the new birth from the mother: the text of our poem contains the words: "I have sunk beneath the womb of the mistress." This might mean a sexual union but is unlikely in this case as it concerns a woman. However, one of the most important scholars on the subject of the Orphic Mysteries, C. Guthrie: "Orpheus and the Greek Religion," assumes it may have meant an act of re-birth much as is being shown to this day by many primitive peoples in the rite of adoption; i. e. the one to be adopted has to crawl between the legs of the adopting mother as if being newly born from her. The actions of these Orphic Mysteries are after all related to the Eleusinian ones.

IV.

THE MYSTERIUM OF CYBELE

If the Greek and Egyptian Mysteries — as well as the Cretan ones of Sabazios — had the glamour of romanticism and beauty about them, we find in the Phrygian Mysteries the rites of which we know mainly from Rome, a great deal of cruelty, exposing the dreadful human instincts that had to be fought down.

The myth of these mysteries says:—

In Phrygia, where Troy was situated, it so happened once upon a time, that Zeus fertilised a conic stone with his seed. Out of this there grew a monster — Agdistis — man and woman in one. The gods feared this all-powerful one. Dionysus put him to sleep, fastened ropes round his genitals and connected these with Agdistis' foot. On waking up Agdistis, by the involuntary vigour of his movements, emasculated himself; out of his bleeding genitals grew an almond tree from the fruits of which the daughter of the river god Sangarios ate and became pregnant. She gave birth to Attis. Sangarios, however, went in fear of his grandson to his daughter and made her expose him. He was found and fed by animals until Agdistis — or, as *she* was called by now: Cybele, the great mother of gods, found him. By this time she was a woman *only*, but a powerful and dominating one, founding towns and making laws , riding in a chariot drawn by lions. And Cybele-Agdistis loved Attis passionately — yet, in point of fact, he was her, or his son. — But Attis escaped when he became marriageable, in order to marry the daughter of King Pessinus. The wedding was taking place, the cymbals and kettle drums were being beaten, everybody was drinking and singing... when all of a sudden the vengeful Cybele appeared, and all that were present were seized with madness. Pessinus, the father of the bride, emasculated himself and died. Attis fled, emasculated himself under a fir tree and died likewise. Out of his blood grew violets. Cybele hurried after him to find him dead; she deplored her wrong, and the gods changed Attis into

a fir tree. This, as a symbol of Attis, has now to be cut, garlanded and worshipped every year.

Thus far the tragic story of the Phrygian Mysteries, the cult of which was mainly carried out in the town of Pessinus, on the slopes of Mount Dindymus.

Before the end of the second Punic War (205 B.C.) there was a prophecy from the Sybillinic Books, that the Romans would win victory only, if the "Great Mother" from the town of Pessinus was brought to Rome. This Great Mother — the black stone — was really transferred to Rome, and with it, there came the swarm of Asiatic priests and priestesses, the Galli, whose head — the Archigallus — from then right up to the decline of the cult had to be an Asiatic. Already in her first year the Great Mother rewarded the Romans with a harvest as rich as it had never been. The final victory over Hannibal was her second reward. Later on the sanctuary of her son Attis was built on the site of to-day's Vatican.

The ceremonies of her cult took place like this: — The festival began in Rome on March 15 every year and ended on March 23. On the first day the priests — who were called Galli after the river Gallus in Asia Minor — carried long staffs around in a procession. On this day they were called the Canophoroi, probably an allusion to the reeds by the river of Gallus in which Attis was exposed by his grandfather Sangarios, fed by animals and discovered by Cybele. This is the first appearance of Attis. (It reminds vividly of the exposing of Moses in the reeds of the Nile and his being found by the daughter of Pharaoh, who becomes his second mother and from her too, he had to flee.)

In the course of these first days of the festival, a six-year old bull is sacrificed for the fertility of the fields; the bull is here a substitute or a symbol of the first-born to be killed by the Great Mother. In these days of the beginning of the festival all participants have to do penance and observe sexual abstinence. Bread — as a symbol of the mother's womb — is also forbidden. (See the law of the Jews not to eat bread during the Passover festival.)

On March 22 there follows the so-called Dendrophory, i. e. the priests and priestesses carry the cut fir trees through the town: Attis becomes a tree. A traditional phrase says: "You will worship the tree like a god". And this is the reason why the Christmas tree which was taken over into the Christian religion from these Attis festivals is decorated and people sing around it. And the coloured stars and balls, the ribbons and silver strips remind us of the god turned tree, or of the myst, who, similarly decorated, is worshipped by the crowd as soon as he has re-appeared from the Mysteries. (d).

The tree had to be cut, not dug up with its roots, so that the emasculation of Attis should be kept in mind. Small statues of Attis were declared to be the dead god, and for three days the people wept and wailed. For according to tradition, the soul remains in the body for three days. On March 24 Attis was carried to his grave. Torches were lit and pine cones carried on staffs, like the Greek Thyrsi of Dionysus, And this day was called Dies Sanguis, Day of Blood. For at the funeral of Attis the already castrated priests of Cybele fell into an orgy of self-flagellation and of a fanatic masochistic

d) See Apuleius: "Metamorphoses", p. 303: "The initiation was only completed by early morning. While it lasted I changed my clothes 12 times and eventually emerged from the innermost sanctuary in a garment which, it is true, was also mystical but which no law forbids to talk of quite freely, as I was even seen in it by a great many of those present.

In the middle of the temple I was made to step on a wooden bench in front of of the statue of the goddess. My skirt was of cotton, painted with coloured flowers, and from my shoulders down to my heels hung an exquisite coat on both sides of which could be seen various animals of diverse colours; here Indian dragons, and there Hyperborean griffins in lion shape, but with eagle heads and wings, as produced by the other world. Among the initiated this coat is called the Olympic Stole.

I was carrying a burning torch in my right hand and was decorated with a bridal wreath of palm leaves which had been fixed in such a way as to stand round my hair like rays.

Thus adorned, a symbol of the sun, I stood like a statue. The curtain opened and revealed me to the curious eyes of the audience."

(Compare the halo of Christ and the Catholic Saints.)

frenzy. Their dance became wilder, their wailing and their excesses more intolerable; until from the surrounding crowd people — young men who were not members of the priesthood — were drawn into the turmoil and, with instruments prepared beforehand and held in readiness, emasculated themselves in complete madness. After this they ran through the streets of the town, escaping into some houses where one had to give them the womanly garments of a priest which from now on they were to wear. The proofs of their emasculation were taken into the crypt of the temple of Cybele. After the blood sacrifice had taken place in his way, after — as the ancient called it — the tree had been cut and the "Holy Mow" had been brought in, there followed the symbolic descent into the underworld by the grave of Attis, and a strict fast: milk and honey only were allowed, the food of the newly-born. At midnight there was heard the joyful cry: "Have faith, you Mysts, the god has been re-born, for us as well, with our tribulations there comes salvation..."

On March 25, the festival begins, the Hilaria. A grand procession of statues of gods, the entire Pantheon marches along; ahead of all of them in her lion-drawn chariot the god-mother Cybele with her son-lover Attis. The Senate and the emperor, as well as the most beautiful statues from Rome follow the procession (see Catholic processions), the joyful cry is: "Attis Evohe!"

Young girls — clad in white — strew flowers; mourning clothes are forbidden. Cybele and Attis celebrate their sacred wedding in the sanctuary. (It is probably not by chance that Sappho, the great Greek poetess, called her beloved young girl friend, whom she loved like a boy, by the name of Attis). Many supporters go around in fancy dress and are masked. The Archigallus, the high priest, carries the locked cyst in which there is a snake, the symbol of the phallus of Attis, that presumably has the same meaning as the one we know from Eleusis. The procession of the gods and the high priests is followed by the fraternities of the priests of Cybele with their hair bound up in a womanish way, and the sororities of the priestesses from whose emaciated breasts it is evident that they

have dedicated themselves to the service of the goddess. — This great festival lasts till March 27 on which day there is a public prayer for rain, and the statues of the gods are bathed in the river for purification. On March 28 everything goes back to normal.

During all this time the Passion of Attis, the love of Cybele, his death and resurrection were shown in the theatre in various forms of representation.

The rites of Cybele and Attis that have been described, only sum up the exterior of the cult; the Mysterium was, as in all other religions, secret and reserved for the few.

The initiation took place in connection with a cruel blood sacrifice, or a new birth: the person to be initiated descended into a pit which was then covered with perforated boards. On these a faultless bull was sacrificed. Its blood streamed down on to the Neophyte who was completely stained with it and who also caught some of the blood on his face and with his mouth. Completely covered with blood he then ascended from the pit — pufified from sin and safe from death for 20 years. The symbolic interpretation is the following:

The bull pours out his blood, its seed, its life into the earth, the pit, the grave, the mothers; there the one to be re-born is touched by it, flooded by it, and rises from the womb of the earth, newly begot by joint male and female principle.

The other actions of the Mysteries are similar to the ones already mentioned. "I have drunk from the kettledrum, I have eaten from the cymbal, I have carried the sacrificial vessel; I have slipped into the woman's chamber."

This was one of the traditional sayings. The dangers and tests of the Neophytes were similar to those in the Demeter and Isis Mysteria. But the end of all was here in the innermost chamber: the crowning of the Neophyte. He became Attis, he became a god at the side of the goddess, and he probably consummated, in the physical sense, the Holy Wedding with her priestess. (No knowledge of whether the women became goddesses beside Attis — like

the brides of Christ, the nuns — has been handed down to us). Diodor says: "Those that took part in the Mysteries became more pious, more just and better."

An interesting detail is the following: — the priestesses were called bees. Is it by chance that their behaviour is so much like that of the real bees? They themselves cannot and must not bear children, only their queen may; the one drone, however, who undertakes the wedding-flight with the queen dies of it like Attis. In this social structure there is discernible the prototype of the pure Matriarchate. And furthermore: how many Catholic habits have been derived from the cult of Cybele! The Christmas tree, the choir of the emasculated boys in the Church of St. Peter, the imposition of sexual abstinence on the nuns and monks. Instead of the cutting off the breasts, nowadays cotton wool dipped into certain liquids is put upon the breasts of the nuns so that they perish. In comparison with this it becomes, for the first time, clear, why the Amazons — servants of Artemis of Ephesus — cut off one of their breasts. The statue of this goddess has hundreds of breasts: one sacrifices one's own in her service so that the great goddess' capacity for feeding be increased a hundredfold. The Amazons had to feed their children, therefore they sacrificed only one breast; the priestesses of Cybele had to remain virgins, hence the sacrifice of both breasts. (In comparison and contrast with this are the Roman Vestals, the servant of Hestia, the goddess of the hearth, — again a mother goddess. They were entrusted with this office in their childhood; they then had to remain virgins for 30 years, without any mutilation, only after this period were they allowed to marry; in the case of a premature loss of chastity they were killed).

In the same way as the women cut off their breast, the youths sacrificed their own phalli to Attis so as to enable him to rise from the grave, strong and ready for his Holy Wedding with Cybele, the goddess.

The celibacy of the priests with their tonsure, the symbolic castration of the man, derives from here, too. The sororities

and fraternities, the hierarchy of the monasteries have their origin here. The Archigallus becomes the Pope, the procession of the gods becomes the Corpus Christi Day procession. The three days of mourning for Attis are Good Friday to Easter Sunday. The Passion Plays of Attis became Christ's Passion, and there are many more examples. (Not a little was taken over from the Persian cult of Mithra into Catholicism which, however, is really related to Attis, although less bloodthirsty. The Persian Mithras is the Sun, his birth the birth of the Sun. Hence the Christmas tree on the day of Winter Solstice).

So new light is being shed on the circumcision of Yitzhak, too, — the ineffaceable wound — as a mark of the union with God. At the consecration into the Mysteries — even of the non-priests — a wound is inflicted upon each participant in the cult which can be recognised all his life as an ineffaceable mark of his union with the goddess. This habit of marking as the sign of the union has survived to this day in the tattooing of sailors or of the primitive peoples; it was also an indispensable part of the rituals concerning witches who were sacrificed to the "Horned God" — right up to modern times.

However, there remains the unanswerable question: how could it happen that mankind chose such horrible, sacrificial paths? — Let us retrace the history of the sacrifices. At the beginning the first-born was sacrificed to the Gods — man and beast. "Peter rechem"; that sacrifice is not consecrated to the Great Father, but before him to the Great Mother, as a redemption for the fertility of the land, or in hours of great danger. Later on, this human sacrifice was replaced by animal substitutes, specially by bulls and rams for boys, cows and gazelles for girls. The "red cow" in Egypt and in the Bible; a gazelle instead of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, a ram instead of Yitzhak, a bull instead of Osiris. These animals were chosen for their fertility and their horns. The Greek word Kronos, father of Zeus, originates from the Hebrew Koren, the Horned One, the Shining One.

In subsequent times the Mother was replaced by the Great Father.

Agamemnon made a sacrifice of Iphigenia in Greece, Yiphtah of his daughter in Canaan (it was the fathers that made the sacrifice of their daughters, not the mothers); later on, it was possible to replace the offering of the child by a monetary offering. "Pidion ha'Ben", the ransom of the son, by means of "dme pidion", i.e. of money, in which case in Hebrew both blood and money are expressed by the same word. "Dam" means either.

However, where the Great Mother continued to rule — in Syria, Phrygia, Canaan — the sacrifice of his life by one who dedicated himself to the service of the goddess was replaced by the partial death of self-castration. (Castration derives from the Latin castus — chaste). It was already splendid progress not to have to sacrifice to the god or goddess each first-born, i.e. one member of each family, but only the especially chosen. (See Samuel who was promised by his mother to the service of the Lord, or Samson, etc.).

This rite of sacrificing one's fertility for life is being continued in the Christian religion, in monasticism and ascetism; it has been recognised for thousands of years by the whole of the spiritual world as it increases, so it is presumed, the potentiality of sublimation in man, as he thus becomes more fit to be a priest, a father for many sons, a shepherd for many sheep, this who has no bodily sons of his own. In our context this means that sacrifices of life and fertility were being practised b e f o r e Cybele and a f t e r. For any idea, the blood of thousands is being demanded and given. In spite of this, self-castration is being felt to be horrid and cursed. One has a feeling that this rite offends more gravely against the laws of life than even a bodily death. In contrast to this modern horror of castration, eunuchs, who had been castrated as slaves or criminals, occasionally even filled the highest posts of honour and state in Rome as well as in the Egypt of the Ptolemies, at Byzantium and elsewhere. The Galli as well, the priests of Cybele — unless they had sunk down to moral decadence — were recognised as honoured priests. They

were the confidants of women, although they often misused their confidence through intrigues.

How is the origin of this self-castration of the priests of Cybele to be explained? A very instructive, antique myth gives the same answer to the question for the causes of self-castration as does modern Psycho-analysis. It goes: Zeus had raped his mother Rhea-Demeter; and to atone for this guilt he threw the phallus of a sacrificed bull into her lap; he wanted to make her believe — so say the ancient — that he had mutilated himself out of his guilt for desiring his mother. To-day we know that the will of self-punishment for the forbidden wishes for one's mother leads to that guilty feeling which can actually produce impotence. Whether it really suffices for practising self-castration for centuries, may, however, be doubted. The self-blinding of Oedipus is, it is true, a complete parallel to this pretended act of Zeus, but we do not know whether the act of Oedipus did not only happen in his imagination and not materialise in real life. For Oedipus did not live, but the priests of Cybele did. — We are, therefore, bound to continue the search for the psychological causes of these rites.

Another myth concerning the Great Mother should be mentioned here: in all countries there exists the fairy-tale figure of Thumbling or Brownie, or the dwarf or pygmy. In Greece these goblins were called Daktyloi, fingers. (Daktylos in the Greek verse metre: long, short, short). In Phrygia these Daktyloi were the servants of Cybele, i.e. the cut-off phalli of her priests had been personified to be living figures who served the goddess. For the renewal of her fertility she needed the perpetual sacrifice of the male sex.

What about the history of castration in general? Is castration of animals older than that of humans? Were the experiences of effeminacy in man and vice versa of masculinity in woman first made on humans, and later this knowledge transferred to animals or vice versa? Traditional science says that in India, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Canaan and elsewhere, castration of animals had been practised for a long time before it was done to humans. Psycho-

analysis (Dr. M. Wulff) deduces on the contrary that the changes observed in the human body and character as a result of castration led to similar tests with animals... The truth may be in the middle: knowledge of man and animal may have coincided empirically. In any case effeminacy in male animals as a result of castration proved extremely useful to man, especially for the development of early agriculture. It may confidently be claimed that beside the discovery of the secret of sowing, and later of the plough, the third foundation of agriculture is the provision of the strong but docile working animals, the oxen, the castrated bulls. The work of oxen is a matter of special interest; wherever agricultural work had to be done on heavy, stony ground, e.g. in Asia Minor, Canaan, Syria, in contrast to the Nile-flooded muddy plains of Egypt — the plough had to delve deep, with strong and willing labour. A cow will suffer in its milk-yield when forced to pull too heavy a load, neither its potential strength is particularly great. A bull cannot be put to the yoke, because of its unpredictable fierceness which may endanger man. — After finding out that a castrated bull, an ox, or in marshy ground a buffalo, was easily able to tear up the heaviest soil, it was soon recognised that the soil thus worked was capable of producing manifold fruits. Out of this grew the analogous deduction based on magic assumptions, that the same procedure which caused an enormous increase of productivity for the soil must be valid for the whole of the earth including man. Male and female castration of priests and priestesses (Herodot tells of the castration of women also in Lydia) was therefore bound to become a commandment as sacrifice and devotion. (Frazer tells of fertility rites in which the cut-off limbs of the first-born were strewn on the fields, so as to fertilise the earth in a magic way). We know of the same mangling and scattering of the limbs from Egypt, of Osiris, and the historian Robert Graves considers this rite to have been practised wherever there is the sphere of the cult of the Great Mother. Agriculture is Mother culture, in contrast to the Father culture of the Bedouins. For this reason the remnants of Mother

rites can be found for a particularly long time in agricultural countries, even where, as in Syria and Phrygia, agriculture has supplanted Bedouin culture. The cultivation of a country is expressed by a process of making the land arable, and by increasing curtailment of nomadism. This process may even be observed in our days with the Arab of Saudi Arabia, and in the steppes of Central America. — Summing up, it may be said that effeminacy as a result of castration, while retaining working power, must surely have been in some relationship to the Cybele rites.

We know very well that in every rite several genetic layers are piled up, which should be interpreted independently of each other and all of which, in spite of their innate diversity, have contributed to produce the final result. Let us now, therefore, try to understand the feelings of the myst in his mystic faith.

The myst would endeavour to aid the god Attis in his death struggle and help him to resurrection, to replenish the god's dying vitality by sacrificing his own. In a magic way he hoped to transfer his own procreative power to him. For unless Attis was being resurrected the world would know no other spring. It is the same process which made the sun priests of Heliopolis in Egypt fight a struggle each night with the dragon "Night" without which — in their opinion — the Sun would be unable to rise in the East. One object was to help the god in his resurrection, the other to become like a god oneself. How does one go about it? By suffering the same Passions as the god, by dying and rising again.

In the "softer" Mysteries of Demeter in Eleusis and of Isis in Egypt the death of the mysts was only pretended. They felt — it is true — the dismemberment of Dionysus or of Osiris in the excitement of taking part in the experience. These gods, too, were castrated, for their cut-off phalli were hidden in the Holy Cyst. But after the resurrection of the god the myst, in these more human religions, would return to his former life, uninjured and rather purified. The action with the golden snake described by Arnobius served only to symbolise the castration of the myst.

However in studying the longing for martyrdom of the disciples of Christ we recognise that it is their greatest desire to die like Christ. That is the lust of martyrdom! This is what happens to those sacrificed in flames by Nero, this is the desire to suffer of Francis of Assisi, this is the real death which some of the actors in the role of Christ would frequently suffer on the cross in the Passion Plays of the Middle Ages (under the over-realistic treatment of their fellow-actors), these are the Christ-like scars (as of nails on hands and feet) of Theresa of Konnersreuth.

Between this "humane" suffering of death of the other Mysteries and the Christian real death on the cross there is the Attis-Mystery of self-castration with its semi-death. The antique man conceived, that, if the priest of the Great Mother, through castration and death, i.e. through an experience similar to that of the god, died a real death, he would be unable to go on serving her; for only a god is resurrected, but a human is not! That is why he dies partly, remains alive, — and goes on serving. It is in the cult of Cybele that the passion of devotion to the god and that of identification with the happenings in nature finds its highest expression.

In the "imitatio Christi" which forms the basis of monasticism in Catholicism, a more spiritual note has been introduced into the masochism of feelings by having, to a great extent, the female principle destroyed in the church. Physical fertility cult and crudely sexual worship of the female principle became transformed into that of the "Immaculate Virgin" Mary and the principle of spiritualised love of one's neighbour. This revaluation of all conceptions has, it is true, in its Christian form, taught the denial of the right of women as woman means sin; however, it would have done even greater harm to the world than the miserable centuries of the Middle Ages achieved, if it had not, fortunately, seen, from time to time, the breach of its law against sin: Minnesingers, Troubadours, Renaissance. In its far deeper wisdom, Jewish Monotheism has eliminated the female principle from the concept of God, but always upheld it in the social context of human society.

In the Cybele and Attis religion we see the strongest hypertrophy of the principle of female domination. Even so: after all that has been said and risked for an interpretation and explanation, not, however, for a justification of the Cybele rites, we are bound to recognise the sinfulness and viciousness of this Mother religion. It has once and for all shown what power it wields; it has misused it — for death instead of for life. In this religion the Hybris was innate, this pernicious autocracy which becomes before the fall. It is the principle of force, of female tyranny, of the awe-inspiring witch, of the monster, the dragon, and its complete absence of self-control. It is owing to the cruelty of Cybele that the female principle became an expelled Satan in the religions of the world; because of her, true womanly dignity, her power for good and her blessing became suppressed. Reviled and insulted, she had been expelled from the social and religious life of the people. She withdrew into witch religions and old woman magic. So with the Jews, woman was excluded from learning; up to the time of the Renaissance she was tortured by the chastity belts of the Middle Ages until finally, with the advent of the French Revolution, at the end of the 18th Century, she was allowed, in the consciousness of the world to re-awaken as a woman.

In the creation of the Cybele religion which is surely one of the eldest forms of the cult of the Great Mother we find the following elements incorporated: the primeval principle, Moledeth (the Hebrew word for Motherland), the birth-giving one, the homeland, is of the female sex. She has two faces: constructing, child-bearing, and nourishing; on the other hand: destroying, killing, hostility, devouring, too. This imago of woman, therefore, becomes the strongest experience for the opposite sex, — the man, especially the young man. She attracts, yet is repulsive. Her service means renunciation of one's own happiness, just as to every drone in the bee state premature death is certain. Out of this ambivalent relationship to woman — in particular to the *strong* woman who is polyandric and powerful, there grows the perpetual fear of man and his aversion against the female principle. It is interesting to note that the asceticism of the

monks which represents the strongest escape from woman derives in direct line from the hierarchy of the priests of Cybele.

What to us of to-day is most astonishing is the fact that this cruel mother of all life used to enjoy the greatest worship in antiquity, especially in the Roman Empire. By her forcefulness she contributed considerably to the development of the Patriarchal, contrasted Ius Romanum. Since then, this law made by and for males was able to rise and has been ruling the civilised world; it supplanted the existing ancient mother laws because, owing to the hypertrophy of mother law as expressed in the Cybele cult, and owing to her lack of sublimation, woman as such had put herself in the wrong. For a revival, for a compromise between mother-and-father laws, may Cybele stand as a memento mori before the eyes of the modern world.

It may not be possible for people of to-day, from a retrovert summing-up, to light up all the secrets of the various Mysteries; there is one thing, however, which has became quite obvious: the Mysteries were created by the Mothers. From their knowledge, a thousandfold richer, of the secrets of growth, they bore the idea of the saviour in them. In the course of the development to a masculine ratio, the belief in the saviour was sublimated by the philosophers of Greece and later on by Christian teachings, from the earthy to the mental and super-sensual.

For these reasons dogmaticians of Christianity became the most embittered opponents of the Mysteries as they, following Christ's teachings, were determined to put an end to the rule of Satan, i.e. the female principle. In Christian theology woman is the personification of Satan. However, in spite of all self-rightousness of this creed, a perpetuation of the female principle took place in Christianity — in Mother Mary and her antagonist — the sinful Magdalen. — (It is only orthodox Judaism and Islam that have persisted in keeping woman within socially and morally narrow precints.)

It is with deep astonishment that we of to-day admire the profound wisdom of the creators of the Mysteries who elevated the

insight into the processes of life to be a religion. By means of the deliberate inclusion of their initiated into the process of procreation they gave to their followers a great measure of personal sublimation. And it is particularly through their union with the Great Mother and with death that they were, in an ethical sense, lifted to the highest plains.

The philosopher and historian Jamblichus (4th Century A.D.) expresses his knowledge in these words: "Knowledge and intelligence do not suffice to the pious to unite with God, else the philosophers with their speculations would achieve the union with the gods. It is the complete creation which is superior to intelligence, — the inextinguishable actions — it is the inexplicable power of the symbols which render possible the comprehension of things."

And we who do not longer accept the solace of this or that religion, we are thankful, that new ways of thinking and feeling have been opened up for us, which, through comprehension, yield psychical insight to us.

Translated by Ilse Meyer

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A Totem Clan is created

by

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Since the publication of Freud's "Totem and Taboo" the psycho-analyst has become closely acquainted with the terms and conceptions: clan, totemic clan, totem clan. To recapitulate: among the aborigines of interior Australia and other savage races that stand on an extremely primitive cultural level, who do not build permanent dwellings, do not cultivate the soil nor keep any domestic animals except dogs, among whom neither kings nor chieftains are known and who evince no traces of religion in the form of worship of higher beings, among such races we find the sole institution governing social life to be totemism. An entire tribe is organised not in consanguinous septs or families but in units, albeit also based on certain kinship, in clans pertaining to a common totem. This totem is an a n i m a l and is regarded as the ancestor of the whole clan; relative to it certain laws and prohibitions are enforced. Membership of the clan is hereditary, but only on the maternal side (relationship on the part of the father is of no consequence) and extends with far-flung ramifications wherever there exists maternal kindred to the totem (i.e. to the original father of the clan) provable solely by the totem name itself. The individual members of a clan feel the obligation of a particular relation one towards the other, and to facilitate mutual recognition they tatoo the image of their totem animal on themselves or wear its hide or fur. Finally, there exists a law of exogamy with regard to the female members of the clan.

In his book Freud repeatedly draws attention to the resemblances between primitive men and neurotics, as the sub-title itself indicates: "Resemblances between the psychic lives of savages and neurotics". The passage which most concerns us here is that which tells of the child in its psychic life not yet drawing that strict distinction between the human being and animals as it does in later life: "The relation of the child to animals has much in common with that of primitive man. The child does not yet show any trace of the pride which afterwards moves the adult civilized man to set a sharp dividing line between his own nature and that of all other animals. The child unhesitatingly attributes full equality to animals..."

The age to which reference is here made would naturally be that at which the child's mental faculties correspond to his behaviour in the quotation. This coincides with his second and third years, when it is in the anal-sadistic and early phallic stage. When Freud in this connection speaks of animal phobias in small children, quoting inter alia Wulff, and expands on Ferenczi's case, he treats of imaginings of the child's early Oedipus age.

The fact should not be lost sight of, however, that Freud himself places the main emphasis on the resemblances between the savage and that neurosis, the foundations of which correspond precisely to the regression to the anal-sadistic period, that is, a compulsion neurosis. For it is in this field that the many resemblances between the taboo of the savage and the prohibitions of the compulsion neurotic are to be found.

Thus also is the observation which forms the subject of this essay to be regarded as a fragment of the exceedingly complicated symptom-picture of a compulsion neurotic. To be sure, "It must not be forgotten that primitive races are not young races but really are as old as the most civilized, and that we have no right to expect that they have preserved their original ideas and institutions for our information without any evolution or distortion. It is certain, on the contrary, that far-reaching changes in all directions have taken place among primitive races..." (Freud, l.c.). In other words, when

a case of compulsion neurosis shows symptoms closely resembling totemic customs we may under no circumstances expect to find a faithful reproduction of the customs of totemic races but have, rather, to picture to ourselves how they can have developed from the child-like phantasy. Thus we shall not be surprised to find the case under observation to have not a specific animal as totem, but every animal as such.

So our patient's totem is called animal. How did he come to this pass? He is convinced that he is of animal extraction. His mother's name was "Haya" (Hebrew for "living", but also for "animal"), his maternal grandfather's name was "Wolf", his mother's brother — "Bear", while his elder brother was nicknamed "monkey" by the other children.

Our patient's own father had not, true enough, an animal name, but that was of no consequence since the patient had never accepted him as father, unconsciously not regarding him as his begetter. His father did not figure at all in his clan, and neither did his whole paternal kin — *precisely as is the case with totemism.* His real begetter is, rather, that brother of his mother, "Bear", who will have lived in just such incestuous marriage with his mother as he himself had desired in fancy with his mother and later with his sister. And so we have: His grandfather a wolf, his elder brother a monkey, and he himself the offspring of a marriage between brother and sister ("Haya" and "bear".) As a final touch, our patient as schoolboy happened to read a story by Lunatscharsky called "The Wedding of the Bears": A girl falls in love with a bear and gives birth to children which, although human in form, yet retain some aspect of their animal nature. Well, of such marriage the patient, too, will have been the issue — does he not himself divine it? With this in mind we shall not be astonished to find him roll about on the sofa during an analytical session and proclaim by association that horses in the fields also roll about thus.

But the symptoms go further, transgressing into the habits of his every-day life. His vocation involves frequent contact with the

public. For some time he had observed that he was compelled — for reasons unknown to him — to adopt a specific and highly individual attitude towards certain people, often such as some of whom he knew scarcely more than the name. He demeaned himself towards these with profuse geneality and eagerness, felt himself called upon to joke with them, to carry on pleasant conversation with them, in short, to treat them in an altogether exceptional and different manner than the public at large. It fluctuated: some days he behaved thus towards many people, on others, towards few; but the causes were always quite unknown to him. The analysis brought these to light: his attitude towards anyone was bound up with that person's name. Those who bore animal names, whether first or surnames, the patient treated with particular friendliness, for they were *his* people, as he once put it later on. We would say, they belonged to his totem clan. And since animal names are very common among Jews, his clan turned out to be very large, so that he was frequently necessitated to adopt this attitude. Thus, a Silberstein (Silverstone) would be treated normally, whereas a Loewenstein (Lionstone) would receive exceptional treatment, as would also a Katz (Cat), an Adler (Eagle), a Hirschfeld (Deer-field), and so on.

An inherent and decisive feature of totemism is *exogamy*, the prohibition of sexual intercourse with the women of the same clan. How did our patient demean himself in this respect? His neurosis forced upon him the prohibition not to appear in public together with women with whom he had sexual relations, or even with whom he contemplated having such; while on the contrary, those women with whom he appeared in public did not come into account for any kind of sexual intimacy. It now transpired that the majority of those women with whom he did appear in public, and with whom he was therefore prohibited from cultivating sexual relations, did not have indifferent first names. Now, first names which are those of animals do not occur as frequently among Jewish women as among men, but there are such. It is curious how many times the

name Rachel appeared among the women with whom he showed himself in public. The meaning of the name, ewe, had always been known to the patient as he came from unassimileted Jewish circles, and the association was prompt and spontaneous. Further, among the women with whom he appeared in public there was also a Debora (bee), a Zipora (bird) and once there was even a Haya, although this was his mother's name, too.

The characteristic trait of exogamy was thus significantly prominent. We now know, however, that fear of incest, of which exogamy is the expression, in reality hints precisely at the original potency of the incest desire. Which is exactly, as Freud has taught us, what led to the establishment of the exogamic principle among savages through the totemic system. How did our compulsion neurotic patient show himself in this respect? We have seen that he was, according to his unconscious conception, born of an incestuous marriage between brother and sister, he unconsciously regarded himself as married to both mother and sister, which was the reason why he remained bachelor, and his rare sexual relations were always on the stealth. As against this we observe a strict prohibition regarding sexual contact with the female members of his "clan", with all women, that is, who bear animal names, as such could be his mother or sister. And that is forbidden. Incest-desire, incest-fear, taboo — and so our case has come full circle.

Translated by David S. Pinsky

Delayed Effects of Traumatic War Neuroses and Freud's Death Instinct Theory [a]

by

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> ..."Alone among men have I passed down through the gateway of Death and returned again. Mine eyes have looked upon the unseen things. Mine ears have heard the unspoken words.."
>
> *Jack London, The Sickness of Lone Chief (36)*

It was in the "Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex" (1905) that Freud already characterized the dual aspect of traumatic neuroses (TN), when, following the discussion of the influence of mechanical stimuli upon sexual processes, he adds the remark:

> "This is where we have to mention the fact — not understood "so far — that by the concurrence of fright with mechanical "shaking the serious hysteriform traumatic neurosis is pro-"duced. It may at least be assumed that these factors, which at "a low intensity form a source of sexual excitement, cause a "far-reaching disorganization of the sexual mechanism or che-"mism, if experienced in excessive strength."

It was not until the end of World War I that it was recognized that this hysteriform neurosis, notwithstanding the hysterical appearance of its symptoms, is, in its essential parts, a narcissistic, an ego-neurosis (11. 14. 16. 35.).

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a) Read before the Palestine Psychoanalytic Society on May 20th, 1944. Translated from the German by Dr. Arthur Weiss.

In some of the earlier clinical text-books the traumatic neurosis is, as a rule, described as "traumatic hysteria", in other words a sub-species of hysteria. It has always been a difficult problem in these attempts at classification to explain the far-reaching and persistent disorganization of the personality. In addition frequent organic complications in the general picture of the traumatic neuroses presented innumerable diagnostic riddles. Often the delimitation of psychogenic as against organic components is almost impossible. A good impression of the difficulties may be gained from the comprehensive review by Brun (4), who also takes into consideration the psychoanalytic concept of the problem.

The formerly common practice of indemnification experts to identify psychogenic factors with a conscious wish to profit from the accident and consequently reject them has long been proved, to be without scientific foundation (14). It would appear that in World War II the reciprocity of the effect of psychosomatic factors has generally been recognized and accepted by medical officers dealing with war neuroses.

In fact instinctual mechanisms are of decisive influence in such cases. Even if fatigue and bodily exhaustion demand admittance as important auxiliary causes, it is improbable that they alone would produce a traumatic neurosis.

The following factors are of decisive importance:

1) A penetration of the "protective barrier (= the Ego) (16.)
2) Introjection and fixation of the traumatic experience by means of
3) An early linking of such recent experiences with infantile traumatic material.
4) Defusion of instincts resulting therefrom with consequent loss of genital primacy.
5) Regression to pre-genital, particularly anal-sadistic and oral levels of libidinal development.

The breaking-down of the protective barrier, the damage to the Ego-organization, is the cause of manifold, psychosomatic and neuro-

vegetative functional disturbances, the exact course of development of which, has not yet been fully investigated in spite of numerous attempts. What we may assume as correct, is that this process is of an essentially similar dynamic nature as the conversion and displacement of emotions; it differs from them, however, in that it assumes more general proportions and affects the ego-organization on a much broader front than is the case with an ordinary hysteria. The frequently sudden impact of the traumatic shock, too, acts towards an acute weakening of the ego. We thus have reason to assume that the inner-psychic changes in the case of so brusque a weakening of the ego imitate in a regressive manner the psychic efficiency, or rather inefficiency, of the weak ego of an early infantile period. It is probable that traumata experienced in early childhood, produce a state similar to that obtained in the case of traumatic neuroses of the adult. (25). It is not certain, however, whether the traumatic neurosis of a grown-up who has already reached the genital phase, always comprises a regression to early infantile fixations. Such an assumption does not seem to be necessary; for, as Freud says, whenever the intensity of the trauma exceeds a certain limit, the preparatory cathexis of the protective barrier loses its importance. (16). In other words, anybody is then liable to suffer a traumatic shock. More recent war-time experiences have confirmed anew, that even persons of slight disposition and of an *unneurotic* anamnesis may acquire a traumatic neurosis. On the other hand, stress has always been laid on the fact that a large percentage of patients was of a disposition favourable to the acquisition of a traumatic neurosis, so that it would appear that the hypothesis of a complemental series comprising the intensity of the trauma at the one end of the scale, and the infantile disposition at the other, will best account for the facts (b). Libidinal fixations within certain limits are to be found

b) It is clear that in broader sense every neurosis is "traumatic" neurosis. In the case of what we call traumatic neurosis proper, we have to deal with peculiarities of a quantitative and economic nature (7).

in healthy persons, too. In addition there are normal regressive tendencies, such as sleep, and it is known that hypnoid states, which either precede or coincide with the trauma, have a close affinity to the normal function of sleep. (3).

The experiences described in the following paragraphs, refer to cases of war neurosis acquired in World War I. The illness had existed for a period of many years extending from the time of the trauma until the beginning of the treatment. It will be seen that the hypno-cathartic method then used by Simmel, (14.) facilitates access to pathological memories even after a long lapse of time. It appeared to me, that abreaction in hypnosis constituted a particularly adequate form of treatment for these neuroses (5. 6. 7.). Probably the illusion of a retrogression to the traumatic situation, is so valuable for subsequent working through and elaboration, because introjections occurring during the period of *maturity* are fixated by *existing* mechanisms of repression. The latter, work very much like bow-nets into which fish can enter, but never leave again. Certain portions of the personality that have remained intact, refuse to accept the strange traumatic material. The repression is kept up as long as possible by an inexorable censorship of the ego. It is only in *exceptional states of mind,* (Ausnahmezustaende) attacks, or twilight states, that the ego allows itself to be overwhelmed, and these split-off, dissociated experiences find a passing expression.

Hypnotic regression encourages a new transference, by creating a state of mind similar to that in which, according to Breuer, (3.) the trauma was experienced (hypnoid states).

A modified technique of Hypnosis applied in World War II made use of certain barbiturates (of a composition similar to that of Evipan and, in particular, of Pentothal-sodium) which are characterized by an efficacy of rather short duration. What are called the narco-analytic (32) and narco-synthetic (27. 30. 38.) forms of using psycho-catharsis seem to have enabled the latter to be easily managed under war conditions. The hope seems to be

justified, that in this war, it has been possible, of course not in all, but, apparently in many cases to prevent the well-known, long-lasting, often disastrous consequences of strong shock effects, which will form the subject of this paper.

It is probably no coincidence that, in contrast to a wide-spread conception, serious wounds suffered by both my patients did *not* prevent them from acquiring a war neurosis. It is possible, however, that the wounds and extended period of physical suffering were the cause of a much belated and slowly increasing appearance of manifest neurotic symptoms. Although circumstances in both cases made it probable, that an injury to the brain (such as a contusion through blast effect) had occured, the material of traumatic experiences could be obtained after an illness lasting for 17 years. This material proved not to have lost in actuality, and could be established as a "conditio sine qua non" for the epileptiform clinical picture of both cases. In the unconscious, these memories continued to roam under their old spell like the crew of the "Ghosts Ship" in the fairy tale by W. Hauff. (29.). Just as the ghost sailors come back to life every night until their bodies come into contact with the earth, so these experiences must emerge from the sea of fortgetfulness, and enter the light of consciousness (c).

These attacks and twilight states are abortive attempts at self-cure, wherein the organism again and again strives in an automatic way to eject intolerable and indigestible matter. (7. 14.).

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c) By the way this is more than a comparison. Whoever knows how to read between the lines will easily discover that Hauff, like many authors of the romantic period, presents in his fairy tales nothing but unconscious processes: The stormy trips of the ghost ship, the nightly awakening of the sailors and their captain, who during day are bound by a spell to remain fixed on deck, symbolize the unconscious drives which remain silent during the reign of consciousness, but come to life at night. The curse of the saintly derwish, murdered by them, forces them to wander in eternity, without ever being able to reach land. Every night they are obliged to repeat their crime. Whatever distance they may cover at night they are driven back in the daytime. These poetic

OBSERVATION I.

In July, 1932, F.W., a publican of 37 years of age, was transferred from prison to the psychiatric and neurological department of the university hospital at Heidelberg (Prof. Wilmanns) for medical observation and expert advice. A couple of weeks earlier, he had attempted to kill his wife and his mother-in-law, a woman of 70 years of age, by means of a massive wooden hammer. Both women had received rather serious wounds on the head. The mother-in-law had also been found roped to the cross-bar of the kitchen-stove. His wife had similarly been discovered bound to the bed-post in their bedroom. — During the third week of his imprisonment before trial he had attacked one of his fellow-prisoners. At night he had jumped onto the bed of the prisoner sleeping next to him in their prison-cell, and had strangled him.

Complete amnesia covered both actions; what he could tell about them at the hospital was material derived from interrogation and information which he obtained at a later date. All the details were completely incomprehensible, when compared with the character of the patient, who was known as an absolutely sociable and peaceful person. He did not drink either.

During our talks, the patient soon remembered, that in 1919 he had tried to stab one of his fellow-soldiers without any known reason, while they were having their supper. In Sep-

images express an extraordinary deed, a crime, its "fixation" in the mind and the repetition compulsion. The shipwrecked storyteller and his old servant (a father-substitute) reach the Ghost Ship after passing it and losing their own vessel. By means of quotations from the Quran fixed to the sails they are partly able to overcome the "repetition compulsion" and to reach land. It is then only that a magician is called in and helps them (strikingly enough for no more but a "modest" reward) to release the cursed sailors from their spell: they become dust as soon as earth touches them.

In these images a profound anticipation of the psycho-analytical process is expressed. (cf. footnote p. 24.)

tember, 1915, he was said to have had a previous "attack", but did not remember more of it than "unconsciousness" of about one to two hours' duration. Later on, the cathartic treatment revealed that this so called "attack" had already been a similar "exceptional state of mind", during which he had attacked and strangled another soldier.

It would therefore appear, that in the course of 17 years the patient had had 4 recurrences of "twilight state" of an aggressive nature; but he had never had typical epileptic attacks. However there had been various equivalent symptoms: severe depressions (Verstimmungen), states of anxiety, short minor attacks of "twilight state" similar to "abscences", and peculiar states of impulsions, when, as a rule at dusk, he felt an urge to leave the house for a couple of hours. In the course of these walks he was given to all kinds of rumination. Besides he showed all those neurotic-vasomotoric troubles that appear after cerebral traumata: attacks of migraine, vertigo, fatigue, a feeling of weakness, etc., These symptoms sometimes troubled him less, but they grew worse in periods of conflict. He tried to hide all these disturbances from the people around him, by not telling anyone about them.

This clinical picture of traumatic epilepsy, developed after the patient had been seriously wounded in action in March, 1915. He had been detailed to a listening post in a slit-trench, an advanced position in front of the main dug-out, when a shell exploded at a distance of one or two metres. Two of his comrades were killed. He received a serious wound from a splinter on the joint of the right shoulder and a number of minor wounds. The medical examination in 1932 revealed a deep scar which reduced the joint of its mobility. According to his words, he suffered then (1915) from a disturbance of the eyesight of his left eye, which persisted for several weeks after he had regained consciousness on the second day after his transfer to the field hospital. This corresponded to the result of our

ophthalmoscopic examination, which showed traces of a choreoretinitic affection of the retina of the left eye. I concluded from this fact that the patient had suffered a contusion of the eye-ball. However, no cerebral defect could be traced during the neurological examination. The X-ray picture and the examination of his hearing, too, did not reveal any signs of an old fracture of the skull. In spite of all this, I was inclined to assume a cerebral defect, on account of two small splinters of the size of the head of a pin which were discovered in the X-ray picture, in the skin of the skull above the vertex. The patient also reported, that similar tiny splinters of the shell-case had festered behind the auricle. Numerous war-time experiences (39.) show that damage to the brain (contusio cerebri) may be caused by the blast of an explosion. It is possible, that this may have escaped observation, in view of the serious wounds suffered by my patient, and owing to the general conditions of the field hospital. In addition to all this, the patient had a serious motor accident in 1917, when he broke a leg, and remained unconscious for a considerable time.

It would have been the obvious thing to do, to accept this clinical picture as an "organic" case, as is usually done in earlier descriptions. However, I was rather inquisitive, and took W. for treatment during the year of his internment. At the beginning, it was purely cathartic treatment in a deep state of hypnosis; later on psycho-analytic talks in waking state to the best of my knowledge on the strength of my experience which was somewhat scant of that time were added. At first, the patient once more experienced the moment of his being wounded with violent expressions of pain. After that, I asked him to repeat the "attack" which he had had half a year later, at the convalescent' home. As I have mentioned before, it now became clear, that this had been the first of his four great "twilight states" in which he attacked one of his comrades. When I knew that much, I asked him to repeat the ex-

perience for a second time, and to tell me why he had attacked that comrade. This repetition revealed that he had taken this comrade for a Frenchman. In the following session, I made him repeat this occurrence for a third time. After he had got through his outbreak of fury, I asked him where he had believed himself to have been. He replied: "In action, in our position, there was an assault". Scarcely had I requested him to repeat this experience by my question, "What is going on?" when he reenacted the assault with a ferocity and intensity of experience, of which nothing but a weak indication can be given in a stenographic protocol. In this assault he struck down a number of enemy soldiers in senseless fury and fear of death.

Immediately the face reddened again, the patient's body began to shake, and he shouted so that the male nurses, ready to assist me in case of an assault, came running from the other departments of the clinic and entered the room:

"Out! ... Out of the trench! ... the whole company quick march! ... March! March! ... Hurrah! Hurrah! ... On with you ... out! ... on! ... Cowards will be shot!" ... He breathes heavily as if pursued: "Jawoll, Herr Leutnant! You, too, must go over the top! ... Out! Follow me! ... Beat down whatever comes your way! ... Comrades, if there is no other way, use your rifle butts! ... (With foam on his lips) Everything must go to pieces! ... Whoever surrenders is a coward! ... Hurrah! on! (Breathing heavily): You swine! (d) You must die! ... (His words become unintelligible the same as during his twilight states) ... You rascal! (d) ... What?! ... Rascal (d) ... (Unintelligible words, then ecstatically): Hurrah! On, comrades!... Away with you! (d) Always on! What?! By thunder! (d) ... Rascal! (d)...(Then more quietly) ... You are brave, comrades! We got it! (Ecstatically): Bravo! Bravo! We've fought honest-

d) It must be imagined that each of these exclamations accompanied a blow with the rifle butt.

ly!" Now the tension of the body relaxed and the trembling decreased. In the ensuing minutes, W. praised his officer, saying that he had always thought him to be a coward, but that now he knew that the officer would stick to his men. He was exalted over their heroism, but soon broke into tears because of *three comrades* who had been *killed at his side.* Then again he laughed when the sergeant major spoke of a possible award of the 'Iron Cross', although "he didn't care". He was very angry because the enemy forces had been coloured troops. — "I am quite gone! It is a strain indeed!"

At the end of this session, we learned upon interrogation that this assault had taken place on the 10.3.1915, i.e. *two days before he was wounded.* After awakening from his hypnotic sleep he immediately felt a strong need to urinate. He was covered with sweat, but felt well otherwise.

After the repressed experiences and latent material of the traumatic war neurosis had regained access to consciousness, it became necessary to repeat and work through this material in a further series of 20 hypno-cathartic sessions, when it was brought into connection with conflicts in his civilian life, such as the attacks upon his wife and mother-in-law and actual moods of depression. (e) At a later date, infantile material was also subjected to psycho-cathartic treatment. Finally I also tried to reproduce a transference of aggressive impulses upon my person, by means of suggestions (in hypnosis) of head-aches, anger, etc. Circumstances would have supplied ample cause therefore as his internment, in contradiction to a given promise, had to be extended from a period of 6 months to a full year. However, my suggestions produced no more than invectives against the head of the institution and myself.

A striking change in the behaviour of the patient had been noticeable ever since the abreactions of the first six or seven sessions.

e) See Footnote p. 194.

A feeling of having been relieved of a tremendous load, found expression at times in a euphoric exaltation. This was rather puzzling to the patient, who had been depressed for many years. In view of the tragic occurrences leading to his internment, he felt rather ashamed of this state of mind in the presence of the nurses.

Considering the case history (showing no more than 4 occurrences of a "severe" fit of twilight states with attacks against other persons in the course of 17 years) I cannot claim a complete recovery, without constant observation after release, extending over a period of many years. However, I feel justified in saying that it was possible to remove a "locus minoris resistentiae", a sensitive spot in his mental frame. Another fact may strengthen our hope in this direction: The disappearance of numerous subjective disturbances (of a vasomotoric nature), during a full year of observation — when the patient was doing physical labour. The catharsis of the last three attacks of twilight state had left no doubt that the affective reactions experienced during the war, had contributed a good deal to the subsequent recurrences of twilight states.

The discussion of his attacks upon relatives, partly in hypnocatharic and partly in analytic form, allowed some insight into the manifold affective sources of this symptomatic action. (e) His own actions in twilight states were completely forgotten, according to *Gruhle* (28), a characteristic feature of epileptic twilight states.

In the various layers of this mass of material, strong instinctual forces were contained, which the ego, the censor and repressing institution, had great difficulty in keeping within their unconscious confines, while at the same time they showed a strong tendency towards repetition. They pushed to the surface in moods of depression as well as in "minor" twilight states. In "major" twilight states they broke the dams of repression and were released. During the long intervals between each of these "major" twilight states and

e) Their further analysis, which is of no interest in this connection, may be found in DREYFUSS, Der Fall Wieland, (5.)

the next, the expenditure involved in repression could be seen in various complaints of a general nature. Relatively insignificant conflicts, easily dealt with by an integrated personality, obtained the value of complexive stimuli and brought about a dramatic abreaction of the whole quantity of affective forces.

The first break-through of the deeply repressed aggressive tendencies, occurred on the battle-field, and also constituted a breach in the pattern of behaviour of this passive personality, as laid down in his character formation. Up to that time, he might have been considered to be a pre-disposed, but practically integrated personality; he could not have been described as an epileptic. In battle the repressed aggression (derived from his complex relations to his parents and brothers) was activated in transference to the enemy (5). Freud (21), Stekel (49), and others have pointed out the regular occurrence of excessive repressed hatred against the father in epileptic patients in particular.

In my view, this instinctual irruption is identical with a breach in the protective barrier against stimuli, (Reizschutz) whereby Freud (16) has characterized traumatic neuroses. I have pointed out elsewhere (7), that his "breaking down of the protective barrier" is essentially a break-through of *inner* forces and *not* only an *intrusion* from outside. The creation of the protective barrier is an achievement of the ego, which controls perception and motility. At the same time, the ego is considered the mental seat of consciousness. In its capacity of censor it is responsible for the defence against, and repression of, impulses which are incompatible with the demands of environment (society). But whereas an integrated ego can do justice to such demands of reality, a general compulsion towards repetition of psychic experiences and the tendency of the repressed to return, combine again and again to lead the weak ego of the traumatic patient back to the traumatic situation. In the twilight states already described the power of attraction of the repressed material, recreates in a way similar to that of dream-formation, a position of consciousness alike to that in which the trauma was experienced. Breuer (3) called

this "hypnoid states" and Simmel (14) described it as "auto-hypnotic states". These twilight states represent therefore a renewed experience of the trauma under conditions of a regression of consciousness to lower grades belonging to *earlier periods* (cf. Ferenczi (10).

This fragment of an analysis of a case of epilepsy clearly shows how unsatisfactory is the distinction made by Jaspers (33) and his disciples between "organic" symptoms and "psychic" contents ("Inhalte"). Those "contents" of experiences are no accidental and unimportant details accompanying the organic processes. On the contrary, they contribute the instinctual forces, without which the symptom of an aggressive fit of epileptic twilight state could never occur. Such symptoms are simultaneously psychogenic and organic. In other words they arise from psychic energies, which find expression in organic processes as well. Even if there is a probability in our cases of an organic cerebral injury, it would in no way explain the dynamics of the pathological process, which does not become intelligible to any appreciable extent, except by means of a psychological explanation. It might indeed be admitted, that the cerebral trauma injured the *ego,* the repressing institution, which had been functioning sufficiently well until that time. The cerebral trauma could thus be considered as having contributed to a weakening of the ego, in consequence of which, pent-up inner-psychic experiences, and quantities of affective energy could overwhelm the reduced capacity of tolerance of the ego more easily. The impression remains, that the organic injury has rendered "permeable", a somatic part of the ego, in particular in the vegetative and central regions of the nervous system.

OBSERVATION II.

In a similar case under my observation the patient suffered from frequent attacks of vertigo, loss of consciousness, and falls, accompanied by "major" movements. The attacks, from the day on which

he received his injury in 1915, until the time of observation in 1933, were of changing intensity. However, he reported that he always imagined "being in action, making an assault, advancing sometimes five and sometimes ten metres". One of these attacks was observed at Professor von Weizsaecker's neurological clinic at Heidelberg University, and is described as hystero-epileptiform. For years, a number of doctors had tried to ascertain, whether the attacks were of a psychogenic or organic nature. When the patient was brought to the psychiatric clinic after an attempt at suicide, it was immediately possible (i.e. during the first hypnotic session) to clarify the contents of his attacks. They took him back to the place in Roumania where he had been wounded. During a despatch ride he had encountered 5 enemy soldiers on a narrow road and had received splinter wounds from a hand grenade, the fragments hitting his head, back and legs. His horse had been killed, and he had been buried under its carcass.

(Up to the time of the hypnotic sessions all these details had remained covered by amnesia. During waking conversations the patient was inert, unapproachable, he spoke in monosyllables and adopted a negative attitude. With great efforts I was able to obtain a few general remarks concerning his experiences during the war).

His violent movements at the beginning of the attacks, represented the fall from his horse. Later on they represented his efforts at extricating himself from under the body of the dead horse. The fall was repeated in each of the three hypnotic sessions; during the first session, he even swung himself from the rather high bedstead and fell to the ground without any regard to the possibility of hurting himself. Every time he tried to extricate himself from under the imaginary body of the dead horse an extreme opisthotonus could be observed very distinctly. Every time, each individual phase was repeated in almost chronological order. I observed him lying there almost unconscious, I heard him murmuring curses and using army slang against the enemy troops, who had robbed him of his ring and taken other

property from his pockets. I saw him shiver from cold, when he re-enacted lying in rainy weather for many hours. (A shiver preceded his attacks). I observed him again and again, touching his aching body, wiping blood and earth from his face and eyes, spitting earth and wetting his wounds with saliva. From incoherent speeches, I gathered that after a long, long period he had been found and brought to a field hospital. I heard his moans and complaints, whilst his wounds were dressed by the medical orderly, when he was placed upon the operating table, and his wounds were sewn. I saw his painful movements relax under the influence of an injection of morphia, heard his piece-meal, half-dreaming conversation with a comrade lying in the neighbouring bed, then again a somewhat excited exchange of words with a nurse to whom he made a few unfriendly remarks, etc., etc.

These observations remained incomplete, as the patient soon became rather refractory under the influence of his wife's expectations of compensation, and because the treatment came to an end when I was dismissed from my post at the hospital in April, 1933. — It may be mentioned that an X-ray photograph of the skull, showed the bone to be intact, but strikingly thin. His skull wound and heavy fall from the horse rendered a commotion of the brain most probable in this case as well.

Similar cases appear to be not infrequent. If my memory does not fail me, a case described by Binder (f) (2), belongs to this category. Gaupp's (26) and Wetzel's (51) observations of acute cases also show a similar symptomatology, in particular the same characteristic damming up of affective quantities. The following observation of Horsley (32) deserves to be quoted here:

> "The patient was referred to me with the obsolete diagnostic label of "shell-shock". For fifteen years he had been incapacitated by recurrent, convulsive attacks, followed by fugues during which he displayed ungovernable fits directed against

f) Not available locally.

imaginary foes. These attacks always ended in sleep, with subsequent amnesia for the whole event.

"Under nembutal hypnosis he recalled a vivid picture of his wartime experiences up to the time of a bayonet attack. He described his terror, followed by forgetfulness. He was told, that once more he would become convulsed, and that on waking he would remember the rest of his horrible experience and would be cured.

"While re-enacting his fugue for the last time he became oblivious of those around him: shouting incoherently, he seized a phantom rifle and fought for his life against invisible foes. On waking he was able to recall, for the first time, the whole terrible experience. He made a good recovery, and this I attribute not so much to abreaction as to the abolition of his dissociation."

Cases of traumatic neurosis seem to be particularly responsive to hypnotic treatment. This probably is not restricted to veteran soldiers, in whose cases military drill has repeatedly been mentioned in explanation of this fact. There are in my opinion more specific reasons, as I have pointed out elsewhere (7, p. 140). However, the tendency towards hypnotic and auto-hypnotic regression observed in these patients, does not guarantee that the traumatic experiences can be recalled in a truly cathartic form. This, of course, depends on the remaining capacity of the patients for transference, and the extent of the resistance upholding reaction formations. Thus another patient suffering from epileptic attacks, after a war trauma, regularly attained strikingly great depth of sleep, in a number of hypnotic sessions, and remained completely unresponsive to questions and suggestions. He either lay in great tension, or his lethargic sleep in conjunction with heavy snoring did not allow any contact. I am inclined to gauge the expenditure involved in repression, in this case, from the fact that the patient complained of a bad head-ache when awaking after the session.

The following example demonstrates, that traumatic war ex-

periences are revived after a long period, even when hypnosis is not used for therapeutic, but for experimental purposes. In 1888 Bernheim (1) described the following experiment in connection with the presentation of various types of somnambulists:

> "Mr. S., 39 years of age, a former N.C.O., now employed as a furnace-labourer. His skull shows a deep scar caused by a wound from a shell splinter. He was hit in the battle of Patay... His intelligence is unimpaired. His case history does not show any nervousness, he sleeps well and does not suffer from spontaneous attacks of somnambulism. Nothing abnormal is found during the medical examination, apart from a distinct and almost general analgesia without any sensorial disturbances. I would explain his analgesia by the repeated experience of hypnotic sessions.
>
> "Upon my command he instantly falls asleep, or at least closes his eyes without reopening them; at the same time he replies to all questions. "Are you asleep?" — "Not quite". — "Fall asleep completely." A few moments later I ask him: "Are you fast asleep now?" — He answers: "Oh, yes." He now shows anaesthesia, suggestive catalepsy, automatism of movement, illusions, and hallucinations. He carries out all actions demanded of him with the strict exactitude and quick obedience of the trained soldier.
>
> "I say to him: "You are now back in 1870, a sergeant and in command of your company in the battle of Gravelotte." He hesitates for a moment, as if he were trying to recall his memories. Now these come back and assume vivid actuality. They appear with a compelling intensity. He gets up, assembles his men, gives orders, marches with them, assigns battle positions: The enemy is near. He throws himself to the ground, puts his rifle to his shoulder and shoots several times. Some of his men fall and he encourages the others: "Go on! Courage! Take cover behind the bushes! U-p! We must go back! Here is the signal for the retreat!" In this way he enacts with his men the

changing phases of the battle, experienced years ago, as they reappear in his memory.

"On another occasion I order him to recall the battle of Patay, when he was hit by a shell splinter. He sinks to the ground, is silent, touches his wound with his hand, and then remains motionless lying on the ground. Later on he regains consciousness, asks for the doctor, is aware that he is being taken to the dressing station, calls out for an orderly to have his wound dressed, etc.

"When S. re-lives this part of his life, we may say that his personality is split. He asks the questions and answers them at the same time. He speaks both for himself and for the others, as if he were drawing up a report..."

There is no need to give particular stress to the fact that the atmosphere of such an experiment is entirely different to that of a psycho-therapeutic session. Inasmuch as the experimental situation dispenses with the creation of a true and full transference, this acting-out might (to an extent which it would be difficult to define), be the effect of suggestion or drill. The renewal of experiences is, as Bernheim says, "tangible and true to nature", but it lacks every specifically cathartic character. It is probable, although Bernheim declares that the case history does not reveal any data of nervous troubles, that this case, too, belongs to the group of war neuroses, possibly with a more successful repression. We are reminded of a well-known experiment made by Nonne (37): In cases of soldiers whose symptoms had disappeared by the use of simple counter-suggestions, he had been able, by means of hypnotic suggestions, to restitute their typical symptoms with all their individual traits even after long intervals.

It is well known that artists have a particularly fine sense for the depth of the human soul; psychologists who accepted their lead have repeatedly gained considerable knowledge. We need not, therefore, refrain from adding to our clinical experiences the history of

an invented case of traumatic neurosis, wherein an "ideal" case and its "ideal" cure are presented to us in a most lucid form.

THE SICKNESS OF LONE CHIEF

by Jack London (g)

This is a tale that was told to me by two old men. We sat in the smoke of a mosquito smudge. ... Beneath us... the Yukon gurgled lazily. ... Lone Chief and Mutsak erstwhile comrades in arms... were the last of their generation...

" So a girl was chosen for me," he was saying. "For my father, who was Kask-ta-ka, the Otter, was angered because I looked not with a needful eye upon women. He was an old man, and chief of his tribe. I was the last of his sons to be alive, and through me, only, could he look to see his blood go down among those to come after and as yet unborn. But know, o White Man, that I was very sick, and when neither the hunting nor the fishing delighted me, and by meat my belly was not made warm, how should I look with favour upon women? or prepare for the feast of marriage? or look forward to the prattle and troubles of little children?

(Expressed in psycho-analytical terms self preservation and sexuality are paralysed).

"Ay", Mutsak interrupted. "For had not Lone Chief fought in the arms of a great bear till his head was cracked and blood ran from out his ears?

Lone Chief nodded vigorously. "Mutsak speaks true. In the time that followed, my head was well, and it was not well. For though the flesh healed and the sore went away, yet was I sick inside. When I walked, my legs shook under me, and when I looked at the light, my eyes became filled with tears. And when I opened my eyes, the world outside went around and around, and when I closed my

g) Abbrev. from "Children of the Frost" (36).

I wish here to express my special indebtedness to Mr. Herbert Howarth without whose kind assistance I should not have been able to obtain the English original of the story.

eyes, my head inside went around and around, and all the things I had ever seen went around and around inside my head (h). And above my eyes there was a great pain, as though something heavy rested always upon them, or like a band that is drawn tight and gives much hurt. And speech was slow to me, and I waited long for each right word to come to my tongue. And when I waited not long, all manner of words crowded in, and my tongue spoke foolishness (i). I was very sick, and when my father, the Otter, brought the girl Kasaan before me —".

"Who was a young girl, and strong, my sister's child, "Mutsak broke in... (He then goes on to describe the ideal of an Indian beauty.)

"As I say, I was very sick", Lone Chief went on. "And when my father, the Otter, brought the girl Kasaan before me, I said rather should they make me ready for burial than for marriage. Whereat the face of my father went black with anger, and he said that I should be served according to my wish, and that I who was yet alive should be made ready for death as one already dead —".

"Which be not the way of our people, O White Man," spoke up Mutsak. "For know that these things that were done to Lone Chief it was our custom to do only to dead men. But the Otter was very angry."

(The wrath of the Otter is psychologically understandable: By his illness the son threatens to stop the continuation of the line. According to well-known symbols we may assume that the "bear" who had robbed the son of his sexual desire, represents, in the same way as the Otter, a father-substitute.)

"Ay", said Lone Chief, "My father, the Otter, was a man short of speech and swift of deed. And he commanded the people to gather

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h) Cf. Pfister. (40).

i) As this characteristic description of the state of a patient after a head injury suggests that the author has taken a hint from a *real* case history, the course which the author's phantasy takes in the following description of a miraculous cure is all the more surprising.

before the lodge wherein I lay. And when they were gathered, he commanded them to mourn for his son who was dead—".

"And before the lodge they sang the death-song... and inside the lodge... my mother blackened her face with soot, and flung ashes upon her head, and mourned for me as one already dead; for so had my father commanded. So Okiakuta, my mother, mourned with much noise, and beat her breasts and tore her hair; and likewise Hooniak, my sister, and Seenatah, my mother's sister; and the noise they made caused a great ache in my head, and I felt that I would surely and immediately die.

"And the elders of the tribe gathered about me where I lay and discussed the journey my soul must take. One spoke of the thick and endless forests where lost souls wandered crying, and where I, too, might chance to wander and never see the end. And another spoke of the big rivers, rapid with bad water, where evil spirits shrieked and lifted up their formless arms to drag one down by the hair. For these rivers, all said together, a canoe must be provided me. And yet another spoke of the storms, such as no live man ever saw, when the stars rained down out of the sky, and the earth gaped wide in many cracks, and all the rivers in the heart of the earth rushed out and in(k). Whereupon they that sat by me flung up their arms and wailed loudly; and those outside heard, and wailed more loudly. And as to them I was as dead, so was I to my own mind dead. I did know when, or how, yet did I know that I had surely died.

"And Okiakuta, my mother, laid beside me my squirrel-skin parka. Also she laid beside me my parka of caribou hide, and my raincoat of seal gut, and my wet-weather muclucs, that my soul should be warm and dry on its long journey. Further, there was mention made of a steep hill, thick with briers and devil's-club, and she fetched heavy moccasins to make the way easy for my feet.

"And when the elders spoke of the great beasts I should have

k) We assume this to be a symbolic presentation of the death and, at the same time, of the traumatic experience (head injury!).

to slay, the young men laid beside me my strongest bow and straightest arrows, my throwing-stick, my spear and knife. And when the elders spoke of the darkness and silence of the great spaces my soul must wander through, my mother wailed yet more loudly and flung yet more ashes upon her head.

"And the girl, Kasaan, crept in, very timid and quiet, and dropped a little bag upon the things for my journey. And in the little bag, I knew, were the flint and steel and the well-dried tinder for the fires my soul must build. And the blankets were chosen which were to be wrapped around me. Also were the slaves selected that were to be killed that my soul might have company. There were seven of these slaves, for my father was rich and powerful, and it was fit that I, his son, should have proper burial. These slaves we had got in war from the Mukumuks, who live down the Yukon. On he morrow, Skolka, the shaman, would kill them, one by one, so that their souls should go questing with mine through the Unknown...

..."And as I looked on my fine warm clothes, and my blankets and weapons of war, and as I thought of the seven slaves to be slain, I felt proud of my burial and knew that I must be the envy of many men. And all the while my father, the Otter, sat silent and black. And all that day and night the people sang my death-song and beat the drums, till it seemed that *I had surely died a thousand times* (1).

"But in the morning my father arose and made talk. He had been a fighting man all his days, he said, as the people knew. Also the people knew that it were a greater honour to die fighting in battle than on the soft skins by the fire. And since I was to die anyway, it were well that I should go against the Mukumuks and be slain. Thus would I attain honour and chieftainship in the final abode of the dead, and thus would honour remain to my father who

1) The ceremonial of mourning, which, in the story, is the punishment inflicted by the father, is reminiscent of certain forms of primitive psychotherapy. (Cf. Pfister (41.)

was the Otter. Wherefore he gave command that a war party be made ready to go down the river. And that when we came upon the Mukumuks I was to go forth alone from my party, giving semblance of battle, and so be slain."

"Nay, but hear, O White man!" cried Mutsak, unable longer to contain himself. "Skolka, the shaman, whispered long that night in the ear of the Otter, and it was his doing that Lone Chief should be sent forth to die. For the Otter being old, and Lone Chief the last of his sons, Skolka had in mind to become chief himself over the people. And when the people had made great noise for a day and a night and Lone Chief was yet alive, Skolka was become afraid that he would not die. So it was the counsel of Skolka, with fine words of honour and deeds, that spoke through the mouth of the Otter."

(We may guess here that the Shaman, who strives to bring about the death of the son, also represents the Imago of a "bad" father).

"Ay", replied Lone Chief. "Well did I know it was the doing of Skolka, but I was unmindful, being very sick. I had no heart for anger, nor belly for stout words, and I cared little, one way or the other, only I cared to die and have done with it all. So, O White Man, the war party was made ready. No tried fighters were there. nor elders, crafty and wise — naught but five score of young men who had seen little fighting. And all the village gathered together above the bank of the river to see us depart. And we departed amid great rejoicing and the singing of my praises. Even thou, O white Man, wouldst rejoice at sight of a young man going forth to battle, even though doomed to die.

"So we went forth, the five score young men, and Mutsak came also, for he was likewise young and untried. And by command of my father, the Otter, my canoe was lashed on either side to the canoe of Mutsak and the canoe of Kannakut (m). Thus was my strength saved me from the work of the paddles, so that, for all my sickness, I might make a brave show at the end. And thus we went down the river.

"Nor will I weary thee with the tale of the journey, which was not long. And not far above the village of the Mukumuks we came upon two of their fighting men in canoes, that fled at the sight of us. And then, according to the command of my father, my canoe was cast loose and I was left to drift down all alone (m). Also, according to his command, were the young men to see me die, so that they might return and tell the manner of my death. Upon this, my father, the Otter, and Skolka, the shaman, had been very clear, with stern promises of punishment in case their commands were not obeyed.

"I dipped my paddle and shouted words of scorn after the fleeing warriors. And the vile things I shouted made them turn their heads in anger, when they beheld that the young men held back and that I came on alone. Whereupon, when they had made a safe distance, the two warriors drew their canoes somewhat apart and waited side by side for me to come between. And I came between, spear in hand, and singing the war-song of my people. Each flung a spear, but I bent my body, and the spears whistled over me, and I was unhurt. Then, and we were all together, we three, I cast my spear at the one to

m) Particular attention should be paid to the transition. At first his boat is placed between the two boats of friendly warriors "to save his strength." Like a child he is led by the hand of his two parents. Then he steers his own boat between those of the two enemy warriors whom he kills. We may assume here that the "kind" parents change into "bad" ones. It is characteristic that at this very moment he receives another blow on his head, a repetition of the original trauma, releasing him from its effect.

In the same way the hero of J. London's animal story "Call of the Wild", a dog, is torn from a peaceful existence by his abductors. His resistance is broken by a fearful blow on his head. Now his civilized character changes and this is where he starts on his way into the wilderness.

(An investigation of the history of J. London's life might very well reveal an early important trauma suffered from his father.)

The trip on the river also reminds us of mythical motives. It is a trip down into the world of the dead like that of Odysseus. Five scores of warriors (the same as seven slaves) escort him to Hades. Compare also the "nightly trip of the Sun God" and his rebirth. Cf. C. G. Jung (34).

the right, and it drove into his throat and he pitched backward into the water.

"Great was my surprise thereat, for *I had killed a man.* I turned to the one on the left and drove strong with my paddle, to meet Death face to face; but the man's second spear, which was his last, but hit into the flesh of my shoulder. Then was I upon him, making no cast but pressing the point into his breast and working it through him with both my hands. And while I worked, pressing with all my strength, he smote me upon my head, once and twice, with the broad of his paddle.

"Even as the point of the spear sprang out beyond his back, he smote me upon the head. There was a flash, as of bright light, and inside my head I felt something give, with a snap — just like that, with a snap. And the weight that pressed above my eyes so long was lifted, and the band that bound my brows so tight was broken. And a great gladness came upon me, and my heart sang with joy.

"This be death, I thought; wherefore I thought that death was very good. And then I saw the two empty canoes, and I knew that I was not dead but well again. The blows of the man upon my head had made me well. I knew that I had killed, and the taste of the blood made me fierce, and I drove my paddle into the breast of the Yukon and urged my canoe toward the village of the Mukumuks. The young men behind me gave a great cry. I looked over my shoulder and saw the water foaming white from their paddles—"

"Ay, it foamed white from our paddles," said Mutsak. "For we rememberd the command of the Otter, and of Skolka, that we behold with our own eyes the manner of Lone Chief's death..."

Whereupon Lone Chief leaped up the bank war-club in hand and a great war-cry on his lips, and dashed into the village. The first man he met was Itwilie, chief over the Mukumuks, and him Lone Chief smote upon the head with his war-club, so that he fell dead upon the ground.

(It may clearly be seen here, that the healing factor is: the chief of the enemy tribe is nothing but a further father-substitute).

And for fear we might not behold the manner of his death, we too, the five score young men, leaped to the shore and followed Lone Chief into the village. Only the Mukumuks did not understand, and thought we had come to fight; so their bow-thongs sang and their arrows whistled among us. Whereat we forgot our errand, and fell upon them with our spears and clubs; and they being unprepared, there was great slaughter—".

(We now understand that one hundred warriors, too, are but a symbol of unconscious instinctual forces, which were repressed and excluded from action, (This is expressed here by the strict order given by the chief and father!). They now rush to the victorious son's assistance. The enemy's village, too, is but a duplication of his own community).

"With my own hands I slew their shaman," proclaimed Lone Chief, his withered face a-work with memory of that old-time day. "With my own hands I slew him, who was a greater shaman than Skolka, our own shaman. And each time I faced a man, I thought, "Now comes the Death; and each time I slew the man, and Death came not. It seemed the breath of life was strong in my nostrils and I could not die—"

(While the ego was impoverished — during the son's illness, it has now regained power over the repressed instinctual forces and now it enjoys to the full the feeling of narcissistic omnipotence.)

"And we followed Lone Chief the length of the village and back again," continued Mutsak. Like a pack of wolves we followed him, back and forth, and here and there, till there were no more Mukumuks left to fight. Then we gathered together five score men-slaves, and double as many women, and countless children, and we set fire and burned all the houses and lodges and departed. And that was the last of the Mukumuks."

"And that was the last of the Mukumuks," Lone Chief repeated exultantly. "And when we came to our own village, the people were amazed at our burden of wealth and slaves, and in that I was still alive they were more amazed. And my father, the Otter, came trembling with gladness at the things I had done. For he was an

old man, and I the last of his sons. And all the tried fighting men came, and the crafty and wise, till all the people were gathered together. And then I arose, and with a voice like thunder, commanded Skolka, the shaman, to stand forth—"

"Ay, O White man," exclaimed Mutsak. "With a voice like thunder, that made the people shake at the knees and become afraid."

"And when Skolka had stood forth," Lone Chief went on, "I said that I was not minded to die. Also, I said it were not well that disappointment come to the civil spirits that wait beyond the grave. Wherefore I deemed it fit that the soul of Skolka fare forth into the Unknown, where doubtless it would howl for ever in the dark and endless forest. And then I slew him, as he stood there, in the face of all the people. Even I, Lone Chief, with my own hands, slew Skolka, the shaman, in the face of all the people. And when a murmuring arose, I cried aloud—"

"With a voice like thunder," prompted Mutsak.

"Ay, with a voice like thunder I cried aloud: 'Behold O ye people! I am Lone Chief, slayer of Skolka, the false shaman! Alone among men have I passed down through the gateway of Death and returned again. Mine eyes have looked upon the unseen things. Mine ears have heard the unspoken words. Greater am I than Skolka, the shaman. Greater than all shamans am I. Likewise am I a greater chief than my father, the Otter. All his days did he fight with the Mukumuks, and lo, in one day I have destroyed them all. As with the breathing of a breath have I destroyed them. Wherefore my father, the Otter, being old, and Skolka, the shaman, being dead, I shall be both chief and shaman. Henceforth shall I be both chief and shaman to you, O my people. And if any man dispute my word, let that man stand forth!"

"I waited, but no man stood forth. Then I cried: "Hoh. I have tasted blood! Now bring meat, for I am hungry (n). Break open the

n) The regression, which after the traumatic experience reached the oral level, is removed.

caches, tear down the fish-racks and let the feast be big. Let there be meriment, and songs, not of burial, but marriage. And last of all let the girl Kasaan be brought (o). The girl Kasaan, who is to be the mother of the children of Lone Chief!"

"And at my words, and because that he was very old, my father, the Otter, wept like a woman, and put his arms about my knees. And from that day I was both chief and shaman (p). And great honour was mine, and all men yielded me obedience."...

We are surprised to find in the poetic fantasy of a writer, the same psychological mechanisms observed by numerous investigators in sick persons. Exaltations of this kind are rare in the world of reality and we look in vain for similar ideal possibilities that revive the instinctual forces buried in the "landslide" of the trauma by means of an intoxicating victory. The writer presents a gigantic narcissistic compensation as the ideal cure. It is a weak reflection of this ideal cure, when the cathartic cure achieves an active presentation of the repressed: the instinctual forces, hitherto paralyzed by the trauma, regain the quality of "fighting activity". On account of the expenditure involved in repression, the posttraumatic personality suffered from a relative inability of instinctual discharge; quantities of regressive libido were "strangulated". The regression may, according to the degree of instinctual defusion, comprise all stages of instinctual development (predominantly the anal-sadistic stage), and may go back as far as the oral stage. As a rule, the instinct of self preservation is also impaired in such cases. Jack London's imaginary patient, has too no wish except to die. All forms of expression of his lust for life have become strange to him. Food no longer "warms his stomach", hunting and women no longer attract him. Only after he has "tasted blood" he can get well.

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o) Sexual desire, too, re-awakens.

p) The son's identification with the father succeeds only after having overruled him. (Partial introjection on the genital level.)

The young chief had been wounded in a fight with a bear in which a symbolic father-substitute is easily recognizeable. This fight stands for the "primal trauma." It is a perspicuous displacement upwards, if the head wound causes an extinction of the hero's power of generation. This detail, too, is in accordance with a well-known clinical experience: frequent disturbances of sexual potency after organic injuries of the brain. (4)

The author represents the cure as achieved by three experiences: by means of the death ritual the traumatic experience is renewed; the fight against the external enemy frees the repressed aggression (re-birth?); and finally *the triumphal victory over the father* is achieved. It is the old psycho-analytical perception: Who is a hero? He who dares resist the father. (22, 42.)

In that the father dooms his disobedient son to death, the castration threat of the son's childhood is repeated. The son who renounces his sexual (exogamous) rights, who refuses to marry, offends his father by turning the castration threat back to him. He refuses to continue the line. The illness which throws him back to an incestual stage of development, makes him a helpless child, that belongs to the mother and to whom the mother belongs.

By means of his illness the son has renounced any resistance or revolt against the father's verdict. All his aggression is turned against his own ego. He identifies himself with his father who wishes to kill him; he submits willingly and wants to die. Here father and death are identical, as is often the case in religion and mysticism (father — God — death resignation in the will of God — absorption in the universe.)

In the form of the death ritual, the son experiences his own death in a magical form: he *is* dead. "And as to them I was as dead, so was I to my own mind dead. I did not know when, or how, yet did I know that I had surely died." For one who is dead, death is not frightening. Therefore the father's threat is ineffective. In the fight that was to bring about his death, he was allowed to displace his repressed aggression from the father to the enemy. One hundred

warriors are detailed to accompany him, but they must *not* assist him. They are a symbol of instinctual forces expressed by his own super-ego. After he has "killed a man" they, too, shake off the prohibition and repression and assist him. During the fight he kills the chieftain and the high priest, the father-head-men of the enemy tribe. He returns victorious and also kills the high priest of his own tribe, a "bad" father-imago, as he advised the "kind" father to send him on this deadly expedition. It is true that he does not kill his own father — the censoring institution of the author and his readers would resent that — but he takes from him his authority as chieftain of the tribe and assumes his place. Now he feels omnipotent, god-like, his voice, it says in the text, is like thunder, for he has appropriated to himself the omnipotence of his father, as every child does in his fantasy. He has not submitted to father and super-ego, but has himself become an ego-ideal; he has become a hero. The repressed has been released. The satisfaction granted to his inhibited aggression in the fight against the enemy has also removed the regression: the life-instincts — desire to eat, to dominate, to have sexual relations — return. The ecstasy of the fight has revived the exalted joy in life. During his illness the suppressed aggression had been turned against himself. The super-ego had become full of hatred and destructive tendencies against the ego. It had hated the ego, and had repeated the experience of the child, who had projected his hatred onto his father and had thought himself hated by the father.

The story, which according to its character, is close to the day-dreams of puberty, is, in its essence, nothing but such a day-dream in epic form, using very little distortion or disguise (q). It goes without saying that at the same time it is also a beating phantasy. (19.)

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q) J. London's story gives a manifest presentation of the sick, a latent one of the sound personality. The converse presentation of this dynamic relation may be found in R. L. Stevenson's great story of "The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde", where in a slow process the manifest and sublime part of Dr. Jekyll's personality is absorbed

In a sublimated form the same unconscious infantile impulses which so often try to overwhelm the censoring institution in dreams, recur here: The motif of revenge against the father who disputes the child's place near his mother and thus disappoints him; the wish to be superior to his father and thus to take his place in the end.

Thus the breaking through of the protective barrier is nothing but a break-through of infantile wishes, a return to the Oedipus situation. As these impulses cannot be realized by the grown-up any more than by the child, the patient wards off these impulses by the complete inhibition of a large share of his vital activities. We therefore venture to believe, that such persons are relatively more disposed to suffer a traumatic shock as have not succeeded completely in working out a solution for their aggression deriving from their Oedipus complex. Simmel (14. 47.) for instance reports that many cases of war neuroses allow an unconscious condition of their desire for revolt to be recognized: it is a spiteful relation to the father on account of an infantile attachment to the mother. Accordingly, Reik (45) and others conceive the traumatic shock as an experience of castration. The shock itself is a "screen"-experience wherein the danger of castration of the childhood period once more becomes actual and real.

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by the destructive share of Mr. Hyde. In both stories we find one of the numerous variations of the motive of the doubleganger (43).

Stevensons's story depicts the slow dynamic process of transference neuroses. London's story shows the "brusque" dynamics of an acute trauma. The way in which "Dr. Jekyll" is ruined by "Mr. Hyde" is a perspicuous presentation of the feeling of guilt connected with masturbation and the acceptance and realization of the expected punishment (self-destruction); "Lone Chief" on the contrary frees himself from the castration threat of the father, whose punishment is finally shaken off as an injustice forced upon him.

Every artist deals with personal problems in his creation. The story-teller who tries to attract the listener's attention and to shake him by means of motives of horror, claims the listener's interest for shocks which he himself must have experienced once. Like the child in his play he overcomes his fright by causing the hearer to experience similar frightful situations; this may be called a sublimated "anxiety assault" as defined by Anna Freud (23).

It was in 1917 that Ferenczi (11.) drew attention to the fact that "a shock, that in itself can certainly not be called sexual — (the explosion of a grenade), — results in many cases, in *the loss of libido sexualis and in sexual impotence.* It is therefore not impossible that ordinary shocks, too, may lead to the neuroses, by way of a *sexual disturbance.* The apparently *least important symptom* of traumatic neurosis, *namely impotence,* may thus still *find a place of honour* as soon as the pathogenesis of that condition has been investigated more closely. For us psycho-analysts, the assumption serves, as a preliminary explanation, that we are dealing in these traumata with an *ego-injury, an injury to self-love, to narcissism,* the natural result of which, is the retraction of the range of the 'object cathexis of the libido,' that is the cessation of the capacity to love anyone else but one self." (r) (Italics are partly mine.)

In continuation of the thoughts expressed by Freud in "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" I have elsewhere (7) dealt in a more detailed form with the question of the ways followed when a break-

r) In his novel "Random Harvest" J. Hilton describes the fate of an officer who received a psychic trauma during World War I. His life is dominated by a far-reaching disturbance of his ability to love. Charles Rainier is brought back to England after having been a prisoner of war in Germany. His personal data are unknown, his memory for the last few years is extinguished. He has forgotten his name and the place of his birth and is unable to make himself understood on account of a severe spastic stammer. A stranger to life, he is kept in an asylum in the company of lunatics. In the excitement of Armistice Day the entrance of the asylum, well-guarded as a rule, remains open and the patient, helpless, unable to talk, like a new-born baby, steps forth into the world which had been closed to him for years. (rebirth). A music-hall actress crosses his way, she makes his acquaintance and becomes a motherly friend to him. Under her guidance, protected by her active care from further internment and the troubles of life he regains contact with the world and command of his speech. He regains ability to work and gets a job as a journalist. In a street accident he is knocked down by an automobile. During the passing loss of consciousness caused by the shock, the forgotten war trauma, the action in Northern France in which he had been buried after the explossion of a grenade, becomes conscious again. Immediately after this piece of amnesia is removed, he remembers for the first time his name and place of birth. He returns to his parents home. But now the most recent period of his life is repressed, he forgets

ing through of the protective barrier, a defusion of instincts, and a loss of genital primacy are suffered. In this connection, Reich's (44) ideas on the relation between orgastic impotence and vegetative blocking up, must be considered (s). In Freud's paper "The Ego and the Id" we find the following pertinent ideas:

The final removal of the hero's amnesia in a kind of romantic psycho-analysis effected any meaning; at any rate it cannot be justified. It seems to me, on the contrary, perfectly correct to distinguish the fear of death from dread of an external object (objective anxiety) and from neurotic libidinal anxiety. It presents a difficult problem to psychoanalysis, for death is an abstract concept with a negative content for which no unconscious correlative can be found. *It would seem that the mechanism of the fear of death can only be that the ego relinquishes its narcissistic cathexis in a very large measure, that is, that it gives itself up,* just as it gives up some *external* object in other cases in which it feels anxiety. I believe *that the fear of death* concerns an *interplay between the ego and the super-ego...*

"...The fear of death in melancholia only admits of one explanation: that the ego gives itself up, because it feels itself hated and persecuted by the super-ego, instead of loved. To the ego therefore, living means the same as being loved — being loved by the super-ego, which here again appears as the representative of the id. *The super-*

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the woman who has saved him, has become his wife and is expecting a baby. (His beloved mother had died early. His despotic father, whose harshness had played some part in the mother's death, was feared by the child and had remained a stranger to him. He dies soon after the lost son's return, without having seen him again).

The final removal of the hero's amnesia in a kind of romantic psycho-analysis effected by his wife and by his secretary and friend, exceeds the scope of this paper. But in a clear vision the author recognizes that the loss of memory and inability to love are in a close causal connection and essentially the same. It is worth noting that the author (who doesn't seem to be a complete stranger to psycho-analysis) follows a strictly deterministic method of restituting the missing memories step by step. From the point of view of the physician it is instructive that the author allots a period of twenty years for this mental process.

s) Cf. the following opinion of a physiologist: "Es scheint ueberhaupt den Keimdruesen eine ganz eigentuemliche Rolle im Gegenspiel zu den anderen Blutdruesen zuzukommen. Es macht den Eindruck, also ob sie im reifen Alter und bei normaler Funktion einen regulatorischen Einfluss auf die andern Druesen in dem Sinne ausuebten, dass sie sie zu normaler Funktion veranlassen, also dort, wo von Haus aus Neigung zu Hypofunktion besteht, stimulierend, dort, wo Neigung zu Hyperfunktion, mitigierend wirken". F. Frisch. (24). p. 222.

ego fulfils the same function of protecting and saving that was fulfilled in earlier days by the father and later by Providence or destiny. But, when the ego finds itself *in overwhelming danger of a real order* which it believes itself unable to overcome by its own strength, it is bound to *draw the same conclusion.* It sees *itself deserted* by all the forces of protection and *lets itself die.* Here, moreover is once again the same situation as that which underlay *the first great anxiety-state of birth* and the infantile anxiety of longing for an absent person — the anxiety of *separation from the protecting mother.*

"These considerations enable us to conceive of the fear of death, like the fear of conscience, as a development of the fear of castration. (Italics are mine).

It is known that Freud (16.) obtained a hint for his hypothesis of death instincts, from certain peculiarities in the clinical picture of traumatic neuroses. Among the reasons causing him to assume a mental region "beyond" the pleasure principle, were (a) a deviation from the principle of wishfulfilment in dreams in which patients suffering from traumatic neuroses are so often brought back to the unpleasurable situation of the trauma; and (b) the repetition compulsion in general. Indeed the tendencies of a disturbed mental life towards repetition are rarely seen as clearly as in traumatic neuroses; possibly they appear even more distinctly than in severe forms of masochism. The following question arises in this connection: Does the trauma assist the death instinct, (that had been latent so far because bound,) in attaining dominance? or else, is this repetition compulsion simply the consequence of a fixation to the traumatic situation, the repetition of which is necessary for the purpose of discharge from an unbearable blocking up of mental energies? The mental life of early childhood, the same as that of primitive man, tends towards rhythmical repetition and the term "fixation" itself contains the idea that traumata, suffered in early childhood, fixate mental processes appropiate to that period, in that they stop the continuation of psychic development. We might thus be able to explain the traumatic neurosis of the grown-up satisfactorily, by assuming that the regression takes the patient back to those early strata of the mind and thus revives the compulsive repetition. In an earlier investigation (7) I tried to restrict myself to the assumption that the repressed libidinal quantities, which are excluded

from the ego-organization, acted like instincts sexualizing the ego and its functions. It stands to reason, that such a sexualization of ego-functions should impair the patient's adaptation to reality. The blocking up of instincts — which are directed inwards by the super-ego — leads repressed asocial tendencies towards self-destruction. This would in turn represent an interpretation of the idea of "de-fusion of instincts," that would be less far-reaching than the customary but hypothetical definition: A primary division into Eros and death instincts (t).

The normal ego-functions, enforce delays of satisfaction, and thus safeguard the adaptation to reality. But the latter, in spite of all renunciations demanded by it, finally becomes a strong wish of the integrated personality, and thus again serves the economy of the pleasure principle in an indirect way (secondary narcissism). In the same degree every disturbance of the adaptation to reality, also challenges the reign of the pleasure principle. This obviates the absolute necessity of introducing a death "instinct". We must ask, in other words, whether the self-destructive tendencies of the post-traumatic (and masochistic) personality are rooted in the predominance of a death instinct, or whether they are the consequence of insuperable difficulties hemming in the expressions of life of the patient, as caused by the disturbed adaptation to reality. Has the trauma prematurely activated a previously latent death instinct? Is it perhaps an essential quality of the "trauma", that it activates this death instinct? Or is the patient simply "fixated" to that overwhelming experience of his weakness, a "narcissistic" insult which cannot be overcome without repetition and renewed experience? (Simmel 14.)

The experiences of two world wars (e. g. 5. 14. 27. 32. 35. 37. 46. 48.) have shown that traumatic neuroses are curable if treated immediately. Only when the illness has been allowed to persist for a considerable time, do the chances for a cure become worse, as

t) Cf. Fenichel (9.) p. 54. "Criticisms of the Concept of a Death Instinct".

the defusion of instincts and the fixations concurring therewith undergo an increasing habituation and congelation. We must leave as undecided the question as to the essential factor in curing these conditions. We cannot say whether a death instinct, to be found in a controlled form in every personality, is released by the trauma and pushed into the background by the cure; in other words whether a more favourable relation between Eros and Thanatos is achieved by the cure. In that case we would have to ask whether a cure may generally be considered as identical with an appeasement of the death instinct. Or should we assume that the cure frees the natural activities and processes of life from an "external" disturbance — a mental intruder? Is it this liberation of the mind from foreign matter that secures predominance to Eros? For the time being we are rather powerless therapeutically vis-a-vis most of the phenomena of mental congelation which Freud explained by means of the death instinct. We shall therefore be satisfied with having discussed this problem from the point of view of this group of neuroses, which, the same as epilepsy, is connected particularly closely with the problem of the death instincts.

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The collection of material for this paper was completed in 1935. The majority of publications of experiences made in World War II was not available in Palestine at the time of writing (1943) and could not, therefore, be considered.

From the Analysis of a case of Cleptomania

by

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A child-like woman of 22 years, with a shy expression, frightened and restrained, comes for treatment, because of frigidity, lack of self-control, and irritability. She has been married for about two years. About six months after the wedding "fits" occurred, at first during the night, later on also in the daytime, during which she became quite stiff and unable to speak. In the meantime these fits had discontinued. A little later she confessed to a cleptomanic symptom: she pinched sweet foods and stole in her domestic jobs.

Family: Her father was a business man, a tyrannical person of whom the family were continually trembling with fear. Her mother, a very repressed and frightened woman, clean, a good housewife, and frequently in helpless tears because of the quarrelling and chicaneries on the part of her husband. Most scenes took place because of the household money which the man was unable to surrender without a fight. Her brother, by about 18 months her senior, is like the mother in appearance, and also has much of her yielding nature. The mother was frequently seriously ill for long periods, she died of cancer of the breast when the patient was 15 years old. — The patient attended the secondary school (Lyceum) after which her father made her serve a commercial apprenticeship. In Palestine the patient entered an agricultural settlement (Kibbuts) and there got married to a man five years her senior. He left the settlement and much against her will the patient had to come and live in the

town. Here she worked as a domestic help, and for most of the time both of them lived on her earnings. —

The remembered material from her early childhood is exceedingly sparse. Friendly pictures from her childhood were almost completely missing; although her mother was not without tenderness in her treatment of the children, in her memory she left no kindly feature to her father.

When she was of school age her father did not allow any friendships, he threw out every visitor, he did not permit to join any youth movement or to take part in any outing. Therefore, in her childhood days, the patient was almost completely dependent on the company of her brother. Later she began to lie so as to obtain this or that small pleasure. That is why she continually had a bad conscience, for there was always something she had committed, lied, concealed or done in spite of an order not to. Her mother endeavoured to help her as far as was in her power by joining her in telling lies. Even so she was unable to save her children from beating on which occasions she used to cry more than the children.

In the course of the treatment it was found that *Cleptomania* was the most important symptom with this patient. Her memory of her first theft stretched back to her sixth year. She abstracted the key to the sideboard, took buiscuits from the tin, locked up again and put the key back. She thinks that her mother, if asked, would certainly have given her the biscuits but she wanted to take them herself. She later recalled that this theft took place on her return from a longish stay at her aunt's who had been rather strict with the children. — At about 7 or 8 years old, she wanted to impress her brother: she took him to a stores, made him wait outside and herself went inside to bring back the following trophies: — a decoration for the top of a Christmas tree, a small ball and some other object. She thinks that from the self-assurance with which she took these things a conclusion can be drawn that she had had some experience... a conclusion which, in the further course of the analysis, was amply confirmed. Their maid got to know of this theft, de-

nounced the child to the police, and her mother had to pay a heavy fine. She recalls that the mother, screaming with despair, threw herself on the floor but did not punish the patient; her father did not get to know of it. She could not remember any more details until, a few months before the end of the analysis and in connection with a dream in which she finds money, suddenly the memories of her school years crowded in upon her. Deeply upset and horrified she remembered a tin box containing a lot of money all of which had been stolen; and then the pictures inundated her of how she had always given her mother the wrong change, always taken money out of the pockets of maids and school mates, and that as soon as she was walking in the street her entire mind used to be concentrated on stealing something. In the shops she stole the moment the shop assistant turned away. Her pleasure was the evil, the criminal; the use of the money was less important to her, usually she bought sweets with it or spent it at the fair on a children's show or a round-about. — This entire period of stealing which ended at about the age of ten, when she joined a youth movement that had idealistic principles, she had entirely dismissed from her mind. She fell back on stealing a few years ago when she was made to leave the settlement, and began to do so excessively. Her aim was to provide for the near future, and so when she knew that everybody was out she would ransack the tents, taking enough of soap and tooth paste to last for many months, by carefully searching the suitcases of newcomers. She always knew how to arrange things in a wonderfully clever way so that nobody ever got to know of any misdemeanour; on the contrary, as she was regarded as reliable she was put in charge of the linen cupboard, and so had ample opportunity to provide for herself and her husband — and she says she exploited it to the full. —

She describes her inner experience like this: when the idea occurred to her to steal something, everything else in her was extinguished, her mind was completely taken up contriving the cleverest execution. Only after the theft was completed she relaxed.

Mostly she would pinch bits systematically from each dish in the refrigerator. On occasion she stole a shilling from an elder motherly friend, afterwards she was seized with great fright and carefully replaced it in the handbag. The thought of being found out was unthinkably dreadful to her. However, from sheer inner conviction, she was disgusted when listening to talk of thefts by others. There were periods when she fought a violent but unsuccessful struggle with her own urge to steal, and was in despair about herself; at other times she did not judge her own urge so harshly. As a rule, it was women from whom she stole. She particularly liked to steal linen and underclothes: serviettes, stockings, small table cloths, on accasion she embezzled a parcel which the postman had handed to her for fellow tenants, she took loaves of bread from the door of people in her house and on occasion eggs from a shop.

From her earliest times, the washing had a fascination for her: in one of her earliest childhood memories she sees herself sitting on a small stool in the bedroom of her parents watching with great pleasure her mother put the clean washing into the cupboard. She herself possesses great dexterity in dealing with the washing. Even in numerous dreams she washes clothes, is given washing, it is taken away from her, she is forced to wash it at unsuitable times, e.g. on a Saturday.

As, in the first part of her analysis, she developed a very positive transference she tried, in order to please me, from the beginning of her treatment onward, very hard to fight her instinct to steal and was beside herself when she had succumbed; however, grave thefts did not occur at this time, she only took sweet foods occasionally. These periods of stealing which recurred at certain times of her life were in relation to *masturbation*:

She did not masturbate during periods when she stole, and did not steal during periods when she masturbated. For both activities she had an enormously bad conscience. As long as she can remember back she knows that she has masturbated at times; for just as long she remembers an ever recurring dream in which she was able to

slide down the stairs as if flying. At first she believed masturbation to be a vice only practised by her, and was much astonished to gather from the newspaper of her youth movement that others did it as well. At times she used masturbation regularly as a means of going to sleep with in connection with beating fantasies; the orgasm coincided with beating or being beaten. According to her own testimony, she would always use masturbation at such times when she felt particularly in need of solace, as in general one gets the impression that this patient always reacted particularly strongly to any form of frustration.

Later on I was able to observe with almost experimental certainty, how, as a result of every frustration, she "committed" something. When a frustration was forced upon her she tried to find solace in masturbation; when she did not succeed in this she stole. After a fairly long time she remembered an order not to masturbate to have been known to her: her mother used to check up on where she was having her hands in her sleep and to put her hands upon her blanket. She also recalled a remark made by her mother: that the early start of her period might be caused by her "playing". So in her mind she connects menstruation with masturbation. It was also realised that the "fits" from which she used to suffer before the beginning of the treatment were in relation to masturbation. This I once witnessed during a session when we were speaking of a dream which hinted at incestuous games with her brother. There was a recurrence of the fits when it occurred to the patient that, during orgasm after masturbation, she had experienced palpitations of the heart similar to those in a "fit". Originally, these "fits" would occur shortly after she took up sexual intimacy; according to her description they were fits of fear: she would began to tremble, have palpitations of the heart, cold sweat, a headache and a feeling of heaviness in her legs so as to feel immobile. For the first time such a fit occured one night, she was awakened by it, eventually she became able to feel it coming and to prevent it by diverting her attention and avoiding certain situations, e.g. being alone in

the dark, especially during thunderstorms, attending large parties in closed rooms so that she was unable to visit the cinema. At that time she went in fear of death on seeing sick or injured people. — In close connection with masturbation is her attitude to having a baby: she consciously and strongly wishes for a baby, but for economic reasons she has so far foregone it. In ever recurring dreams she sees herself an expectant mother with a large tummy, being very proud of it, but usually the dream ends with a disappointment. In one of these dreams she is at the doctor's, her skin is covered with spots; the doctor informs her that she is an expectant mother, and that the pregnancy must be interrupted, otherwise she would die, for her body is not able to bear a baby. It is too weakened because she has interrupted her pregnancy too often. Each spot on her skin comes from such an infringement. But the new infringement would also be the cause of her death. It was found that she had this dream after masturbating during that day. Here we find the conception that, by "infringing" (on her genitals), she is stained (a), and that she has thereby weakened her body so much that she is unable to bear a baby without dying of it. — During an unintentional pregnancy there was a spontaneous abortion after three weeks. —

The fact that she is filled with penis envy was highlighted by her recalling how annoyed she used to feel when her brother would demonstratively pass his water before her eyes. Up to the time of her analysis she used to feel annoyed when the male members of her family would pass their water in the lavatory in such a noisy way that she could hear it. — Her penis envy became particularly conspicuous after she had relinquished stealing: its place was taken by a period in which she did not content herself any more with having a symbolic penis but obtained a real one by having one

a) For this analysis the German language was used. The German word 'Eingriff' (noun), 'eingreifen' (verb) has the double meanings of 'touching into...' and 'procuring an abortion'. In the same way the word 'Flecken' (noun), 'befleckt' (verb) means both 'spots on the skin' and 'stained' or soiled.

lover after another. In this period in which she was intimate with five men within a fortnight — it was during an absence of her husband's — she had moments of orgasm when she wanted to "have", i.e. possess "all" men. — Repeatedly she was even intimate with two different men in one day as she did not wish to leave out any opportunity. Here it was remarkable that although she was fairly active in enticing men she would remain completely passive during intercourse. After the intercourse she used to feel grateful to the man. — Only after she had developed a strong attachment to one man did she slowly lose her inhibitions with regard to the penis, and with the appearance of a desire to bite of which I shall report elsewhere a strong wave of activity during coitus coincided. —

Castration: All through her childhood she used to be afraid that a big dog was lying under her bed wanting to bite her; she always used to enter and leave her bed with an enormous jump and never would allow her legs to hang down over the side of the bed. A few hours before the first end of her analysis, in connection with a dream, this conception suddenly recurred while she was sitting on her bed, and she quickly pulled up her legs. It was the following dream which is also interesting in other directions: "She has to come to me to fetch meat (b), it is very important, she takes her mother with her. I am very friendly and talkative at first, she remains mistrustful and reserved. Suddenly I become harsh, declaring that I have no more time for her. She makes for the door, I remind her sharply that she had come for the meat, adding that she should take it. Her mother knocks herself on the leg of a bed and falls down bleeding, the patient cannot help her as she has been asked to go away, her mother dies, and it is my fault". The first part we could understand very well in view of the intended end of the analysis: the meat stands for the lust of flesh which she was hoping to find as a result of the treatment, and hints at in-

b) The word 'Fleisch' which was used means both 'meat' and 'flesh'.

cestuous desires with regard to her father, for her first idea puts her father in my place. In the second part we clearly find the conception that the hard leg of (in) the bed of the father has caused the death of the mother. — She fears castration from her mother as well, as the following dream shows: "The patient is in a beautiful room in the company of a nice boy. She is wearing a gorgeous long gown. The boy cuts a piece off the lovely cloth covering the grand piano which matches her gown and gives it to her for a present. His mother, a very strict woman, enters the room without uttering a word and cuts out of the front of her skirt a piece of material of exactly the size as the boy has given her. The patient is beside herself with rage. Suddenly she realises that she feels miserable and weak like after some heavy loss of blood, perhaps from an operation or a confinement, she has to lie down at once. It is understandable that in this case her fear of being castrated is great when one remembers that the patient also exhibited active desires of castration in her stealing: the patient thus not only obtains a substitute for being frustrated, she also symbolically castrates the person she has stolen from. The fact that by stealing she effects a revenge became abundantly clear to her later on.

In deeper layers cleptomania is also in relation with *oral erotism*: at times it only manifested itself in the desire for sweet foods. As I have already mentioned, from the beginning of her treatment the patient was leading a violent struggle against this in which, however, she occasionally succumbed. When she had forgotten herself she would spit out what she had in her mouth, she said she would have been sick if she had swallowed it. This inner struggle is also illustrated by her queer way with food: she has a good appetite but at times does not allow herself to eat. When it occurred to her that she had eaten too much she used to be sick. She would put her breakfast off from one hour to the next; sometimes she would enquire at 11 a.m. of her husband who would feel greatly astonished about it if she was now allowed to eat. She used to have a good conscience when she had eaten but little. That the desire for sweet

foods signifies the wish to insert the penis orally became particularly clear after she had mentioned a fantasy from her eighth year: she would wish to have a magic hood to make her invisible so as to be able to go to the cellar unseen and to open bottles of soda water which her father used to keep there and to drink them up so as really to drink enough for once. With the bottles she associated penis and mother's breast. Then she recalled that up to school age she used to suck her thumb a great deal which habit her father had suppressed with severity. On the very afternoon when she told me this she found herself sucking her thumb. After a few hours this urge left her. One day she discovered her liking for playing the mouth organ and did not leave it out of her mouth for some time. On one occasion she dreamt: On her father's pillow she finds a blown-up and used condom, she thinks so he has done the same as I have. She keeps looking at it, every time with renewed disgust. She interprets the dream that it probably deals with a fellatio between her and her father. — Shortly before the end of her treatment, she reported that she had not achieved orgasm during coitus as she experienced an uncontrollable desire to bite, she was feeling the excitement in her mouth, she wanted to bite into flesh, and then had a vision of herself biting off the penis. She felt a strong desire for sexual activity although up to this day she had been unable to overcome her sexual passivity. In this way she became conscious of her suppressed wish to bite off her father's penis which we have already dealt with in connection with the dog that wanted to bite off her legs.

In addition, her cleptomania is rooted in the *anal-erotic phase* which fact became remarkably clear in connection with one dream and the associations following it. This dream she knew from her earliest childhood, she had dreamt it innumerable times and now again during the last night after a break of some years: "While walking in the street she sees a coin on the ground, stoops to pick it up, and sees to her surprise one coin after another all of which she picks up. (This time in her dream she used the money to buy

herself a particularly smart pair of knickers.) The affect during her dream, the taking, pleasantly surprised, of a thing that does not belong to her she describes as very similar to her feelings when stealing. And in connection with this dream and the associations following it memories of her numerous thefts during school age re-appeared which I have already mentioned. — Also in connection with her anality is her punctuality and cleanliness, she is a hard-working and good housewife and organises well. She is parsimonious and in this way uses her urge to collect. She had always loved collecting things; when a child it was stamps, later on when she could afford them, piaster coins. She was pleased when she had collected a heap-full, as pleased as with her heaps of newly-washed clothes, especially when their number had increased by some newly-obtained trophies. As regards the sense of tidiness she was untidy at home and still in the Kibbuts; only when looking after her own household she became tidy.

Oedipus Complex: As regards her relationship to her parents, at first she spoke of her father only with anxiety, hatred and anger, of her mother with some warmth but a certain disregard. Historically it was found that the relationship to her mother must have been highly positive in early childhood but was severely shaken by repeated disappointments. At no time was there any lack of intimate friendships with homosexual traits in which she played partly the mother's, partly the child's role. — As her father was a soldier overseas up to her fourth year of life he came suddenly into her life and on his return she felt at first badly shaken and did not forgive her mother for taking him in. As a result of various illnesses of her mother's the children were left to themselves a great deal. Even in the days of her analysis she reacted to being left alone with the greatest violence, as a rule first with despair which would soon turn to anger and revenge. On being sent to an aunt's who was stricter than her mother as I have mentioned *bed wetting* occurred; on her return home she committed the thefts of the biscuits. — In the course of the years her husband developed an ever increasing

neurosis which, time and again, made it impossible for him to remain at home. And each time he left the house for a few days she revenged herself by being intimate with other men as I have already mentioned. When on one occasion I interrupted her treatment for a few days' holiday she produced the following fantasy on the eve of my departure: I have sent her away, her husband has died, she will begin again to steal, it will go down the hill with her, she will go to prison, and I shall be informed of it. —

Almost all the hostile affect material I got to know only during the second part of her analysis. After a treatment of about 18 months I had tentatively dismissed the patient after she had not stolen or pinched sweets for about a year and had become fairly responsive in sex matters. Immediately after her dismissal she stole a shilling. When soon afterwards her husband left her for a short while and she realised that I was not available for her any more she committel a rather extensive theft from her sub-tenant. She fell into a real state of despair, was unable to eat and was sick inspite of the greatest hunger. She refused sexual approaches by her husband and had one of her "fits". When I happened to hear that she was unhappy I sent her a message to come and see me. After some initial hesitation she came, and when I suggested a continuation of her treatment she accepted extremely reluctantly although before she had said farewell with reluctance and the most touching words of thanks. It was found that the patient had experienced the dismissal from her treatment as being deserted, she was now full of anger, refused any attachment of feelings, and whereas her relationship to me in the first part of her treatment had been so positive that I had frequent difficulties in damping it down the second and by far more fruitful part of her treatment passed in negative transference. Simultaneously, her conception of her relationship to her father underwent a correction in this part of her treatment: although consciously she disapproved of all his doings many dreams pointed to her incestuous desires: in one of them she went to meet her father at his office, in a back room he

tenderly takes her in his arms which makes her happy; in yet another she escapes from her unkind mother to her tender and understanding father. I have mentioned the dreams of the condom, and of fetching meat, and the fantasy of the bottles. She then recollected that again and again she had been "deceived" by the kindnesses of her father when he took his children on gay outings in which her mother did not take part as she was too "boring". Towards the end of her analysis she even realised that being beaten in her fantasies meant an act of love by her father for her as she experienced it as a close bodily union with him. In these beating fantasies which accompanied her masturbation from early childhood to puberty the beating person, however, is always female. There are three versions: a woman with a friendly face (later she found that this woman looked like her mother) comes into the nursery and lovingly lifts a little girl up into her arms. She notices that the child has wetted her knickers and slaps her unmercifully, putting the child's head between her knees. The patient does not remember her father ever doing this, — usually he would slap them just anywhere while the children, trying to protect their heads, held their hands up. — Another version is this: the patient slaps an old spinster. The person she had in mind is a relative of her father's, a harmless old family aunt. Third version: she herself gets beaten by a woman teacher who is very dear to her. Furthermore, the patient, feeling very much ashamed, reported that she would feel sexually strongly excited on having occasion to listen to a scene in which children are being slapped and cry.

As regards *bed wetting* the patient mentions that she used to come home even from school with damp knickers because she used to put off using the lavatory, and that for years her mother used to check her knickers on coming home. Up to the time of her analysis she struggled with an increased urge to pass urine which often used to hinder her programme for the day.

When discussing her relationship to her father the patient recalled that the theft of the biscuits had not been her first theft but

that about a year earlier she had been asked to hand the hotel maid a tip but had spent it on sweets; it was at a time when her mother was absent, probably in hospital. They were red raspberry drops, and she was given so many for the money that on the hotel staircase she called to a boy and gave him some. Her father beat her violently and for days kept her locked in a room.

So here we are faced with the first theft and the starting point of her cleptomania: the child appropriates money that her father has meant for a woman and she buys sweets with it. We find her in the same situation which is known to us from a number of published analyses of children: the small daughter takes money from her father, and this acceptance of money has the meaning of making love as Freud in his essay "Two Lies by Children" extensively shows. It is understandable that she was encouraged to this "love-making" by the absence of her mother, and it is also understandable that the severe castigation by her father made a deep impression upon her. In fact, it became the turning point of her life in the Oedipus Conflict: she turned away from her father and back to her mother. She transferred her love and her hopes to her mother. In the following dream which again makes use of washing as a symbol her life at that time is portrayed: "the patient, being a little girl, is standing on a table, her mother has just left the room to get her a longer shirt. Her father comes in saying: "I like you even without a shirt", he embraces her tenderly, she feels a glowing love for him well up inside her. Her father goes away, her mother comes back carrying the shirt which is a bit long for her but fits her well, she reproaches the patient for loving her father so much. The patient replies: "Such is life, but I love you as well". But she feels disturbed by her mother. She embraces her mother to reconcile her, and now suddenly she feels as strong a love for her mother as for her father. She also transferred the urge to steal from the object of her love to her mother; but whereas at first this meant making love, as a result of disappointments an attitude of defiance and revenge came far more to the foreground. On the occasion of her first ad-

ultery which she committed in the same mental situation in which in former times she would have stolen she visualised me at the moment of the coitus, and hesitated. But with the defiant and spiteful thought: "I won't allow you to disturb me" she let intimacy go on. Afterwards she was quite shattered by feelings of guilt. As a result of her transference of her love from her father to her mother it is understandable that only female persons appear in her beating fantasies. Both expressions of love, the beating fantasies and the acceptance of money, originate from the anal-erotic phase.

The fact that the patient later on developed such a disgust against her father is certainly also a resistance to seduction, for this father went rather far in his desire to take possession of his daughter: even after her puberty he asked her into his bed each Sunday morning, slipped, as a matter of course, his hand under her pyjamas jacket and put it round her breast. This only ceased when the daughter complained to her mother.

The Oedipus situation was continued by the transference of her love to her brother of whom in her conscience she had a disdainful opinion because of his narrow-mindedness and vanity. Dreams and memories appearing in connection with him point to sexual games in which it seems she was frequently the seducer. She also remembered having asked him repeatedly to show her his penis and to allow her to touch it which occasionally he did.

When I finally dismissed the patient from her treatment she was completely satisfied. She was capable of working and even very successful in a qualified occupation, mentally far more interested than before, in sex matters very responsive, interested in one man only and completely capable of enjoyment with him.

Translated by Ilse Meyer

Pseudo-Debility and Compulsion Neurosis

by
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Psycho-analytical literature contains a variety of contributions which investigate chiefly partial mental inhibitions. They are, for the most part, concerned with "blocks" against study in certain fields or inability to grasp particular realms of knowledge. These contributions have confirmed Freud's views concerning the nature and origin of such inhibitions.

Nevertheless, with the sole exception of the treatise by Berta Bornstein and Edmund Bergler, published in the "Zeitschrift fuer Psychoanalyse", 1930, no case of pseudo-debility has, to my knowledge, been described. Even that case differs completely from the one here presented, which is uncommon in that it concerns a five year old boy with total inhibitions of such a nature that in small child treatment is rarely undertaken; generally the patient is placed in an institution where he rapidly becomes imbecile.

Combined with this pseudo-debility there appeared an extreme form of compulsion neurosis, unusual in its structure, and therefore of special interest.

I shall restrict myself to that section of the relatively rich material which throws light on the origin both of the pseudo-debility and of the compulsion neurosis.

ANAMNESIS.

David, the second son of a family in a communal settlement, was born when his elder brother was four years of age. The birth was normal and he was nursed up to his sixth month. During the first two years he made good progress.

The settlement physician, who had known him since birth, informed me that David had been a well-developed baby who, apart from a few illnesses accompanied by fever, such as influenza and angina, had evinced no disturbances. It was not until he was in his third year that he attracted any undue attention.

Before his birth David's parents had decided that the father should occupy himself exclusively with the elder son while the mother would tend the newborn child. This plan was carefully adhered to by the parents, and so it happened that David became the son only of his mother. The parents had expected a daughter and were very disappointed when a second male child was born. They were only too happy to find that David was at least of girlish appearance. He had soft, pretty features and was addressed by all as a girl. It was not long before the child divined his parents' wish; it accommodated itself to the circumstances and expressed itself by his speaking of himself, from the outset, in the feminine gender.

In the creche a severe governess, who became David's nurse when he was one and a half years of age and remained with him until he was five, taught him cleanliness. She spared no means to impose her compulsive neurotic demands on the boy. The strict performance of these educational demands of cleanliness, with their grave consequences to his neurosis, started in all probability during this period. The influence of the nurse became ominous, however, when David's mother, identifying herself with the nurse, also became severe and pedantic, adopting the same hard system of punishments that the nurse availed herself of, including shouting, shaming and chastisement. David rapidly submitted to these demands and became painfully clean.

When David was three and a half years old his mother gave birth to the long desired daughter. The mother was taken ill on delivery and was absent from home for some time. David now found himself without either mother or father, for the latter remained guardian to the elder son. The new-born babe woke terrible jealousy in David, who threatened it with destruction. His aggressiveness was so pronounced that grave concern was felt for the infant's safety.

Sensing how deeply unhappy the child was and desiring to propitiate him, his mother took him away with her for a few days, at the age of four. She was partly successful. Alone with his mother during the trip he felt much happier, was more tranquil and satisfied — only to be shaken by a fresh disappointment on his return to the settlement: The kindergarten teacher, who in addition to his nurse had taken care of him, and whom he held very dear, had of a sudden been obliged to leave her work, and when David returned with his mother he found a strange woman in her place.

His condition deteriorated visibly. The aggressions against his sister had, albeit, partially abated, but he developed a number of compulsive symptoms. He became unsociable and dull, took ever less part in the common life of the children in the kindergarten and fleeing reality, he isolated himself in play and, was not to be drawn by any occupation. If anyone tried to disturb him in his monotonous games or to take his toy away he would break into a fury and beat about himself; he could then be soothed only with great difficulty.

Under pressure of his strict upbringing he became very sensitive and timid. Although he suppressed his aggressions for fear of punishment, they at times none the less broke through. When a playfellow in the kindergarten was once shamed and punished for bedwetting David went to his own bed and urinated at it. He wanted to be treated as his mate and, in aggression against the nurse as well as to provoke punishment, identified himself with the boy.

Many prohibitions against his instinctual desires were dictated

him during these years. Thus, his nurse was averse to his going to the water-closet more often that appeared necessary to her, because she suspected him of practising self-abuse. Direct prohibition against masturbation were also given.

Certain ceremonials were making themselves apparent already in this period, which, when broken through, gave way to frightful paroxysms of rage and fear. Thus, he could not tolerate anyone hindering him from taking off and arranging his clothes in a definite order on the chair. Only his mother was allowed to arrange the mosquito-netting around his mattress. If she was ill and his father attempted to put him to bed, he would scream until his mother was forced to come. Awakening at nights, he cried bitterly and pitifully whenever a night-nurse tried to arrange the net, and was not to be soothed before his mother herself arose.

Not only was his training to cleanliness carried through exactingly and with great severity, but he was even forbidden any form of substitutive gratification. Notwithstanding the summer heat he was not allowed to play with water.

David became ever more inert, anxious and dull. To questions he would reply either not at all or with a mere "I dont know". His look was shy and vacuous, so that it is not to be wondered at that the settlement physician, corroborated by two other experienced children's doctors and psychologists, suspected debility and recommended sending the child to Petah Tiqva to the school for the treatment of debilitated children.

For the Binet-Simon test the child proved unfit. At an examination he meandered about the floor and made a very deranged impression on the examiner, too.

Nevertheless, a small doubt as to the validity of the diagnosis remained in the mind of the children's doctor, so that she requested me to carry out my observations. After having observed the child daily for three weeks I clearly grasped that, whatever might be the state of his mental capacity, here was certainly a case of severe neurosis, to be approached by psycho-analytical treatment.

THE FAMILY.

The mother is an intelligent woman, narcissistic and stern. Very unhappy about her sub-normal son, she treated him as she would an idiot, whom it is best to keep concealed. "He will never be able even to listen to a story", she would say with conviction. On the one hand she was angry with him that he behaved so stupidly, but on the other her sense of guilt would not leave her and she was ready to try anything to help the child.

The father, born and bred in Palestine, is a member of the settlement since early youth, where he holds a responsible post. A simple person, soft and good-natured. He spoils his children boundlessly, and it is only with David that he had no close relations. He was willing to come to terms with his ill-developed son and was consciously prepared to do anything demanded of him as father. He loves his family and is especially devoted to his wife and allows her to dominate him completely. He once remarked that not only David but also he himself was afraid of his wife.

David's brother and sister caused him great rivalry. His brother was a very well-developed child, much loved and vivacious. Owing to the age difference between the two brothers, the elder was so occupied as not to disturb David during the day. While the latter was still in the kindergarten, he already visited school, which lay detached, with the result that few direct relations were cultivated between the brothers. David's sister was likewise well-developed; she was self-willed, and spoiled especially by her father. There were allegedly no hereditary influences in the family.

When the treatment started the patient was five years and seven months old. His brother was nine and his sister two.

SYMPTOMS (AND TREATMENT).

David lived wholly without contacts. He hardly spoke and what little he did say was unintelligible, disconnected and without sense.

His mother said that he talked only "stupid stuff". He called objects not according to nature but by their colour. So, for instance, he would say "brown" when referring to a brown cushion and use "blue" to mean the sky. His sense of colour was extraordinarily well developed and he could distinguish between the slightest tonal shades, which contrasted queerly to his dullness in other matters.

His look was fixed, vacuous and absent, his laugh unnatural and apparently unmotivated.

Among children of his own age he was without contact of any kind, remaining isolated and inert. His games were monotonous and restricted to the most primitive actions, such as rolling a wagon to and fro. If another child wanted to take part in his game he would sulkily ward it off, which generally led to fierce outbursts and fighting. In such altercations he would bite and beat his opponent or tear his hair. Then David usually sank into states of deep depression, crying bitterly. Thereupon he would inflict punishment upon himself, such as beating himself and not touching food.

His bodily movements were sluggish; he let himself be dragged by the hand as if paralysed. The children's doctor did actually suspect paralysis, but a neurological examination of his muscular system gave a negative result.

Clear compulsive neurotic symptoms were conspicious from the outset. He had a compulsion to cleanliness, did not tolerate the slightest dirt on his fingers, was compulsively neat and precise, and repeated games and movements many times in identical rhythm. He had specific ceremonies for undressing and for going to bed, which have already been mentioned above. The sole instinctual gratifications he permitted himself were an excessive finger-sucking and rocking himself to sleep.

The general impression made by him was one of total inhibition, even idiocy. Such was the child's condition at the beginning of the treatment.

My endeavours to establish contact with him met with great difficulties at first. He would not speak, and only at times did he

reply with a stereotyped "I don't know". Of the playthings I offered him he chose at first only dolls. Many weeks he played with practically nothing but them — five small dolls, and one big one whom he ordained mother to the small ones. The big doll had many clothes and much linen, and I soon observed that he never put her on a certain red dress that was part of the collection of clothes. His play was not confined to dressing the dolls and undressing them; he also examined them again and again. As with his dolls, he peeped also under the skirts of his mother and other women and subsequently tried to do so also with me. He once expressed himself quite unequivocally to me by saying "Show me your pipi". Sometimes he also said "But you haven't got a pipi!".

In the course of my work I understood this to be the basis and content of his wish: He wanted to be a girl and, as aforementioned, to be as such the favourite child, like his sister.

While this game with the dolls was in progress, and for months it remained the dominant feature in the treatment, David became more talkative until gradually his aversion to the red doll's dress became the subject of our conversations. At first he avoided contact with it altogether, because, as he said, that was "not allowed". He asked me whether the red dress was not blue; he wanted it blue, not red. "May one touch the red?" he once asked me suddenly but, although I allowed him to do so, he covered the dress up and hid it. He did not like the red dress and would not look at it. "I'm afraid of the red," and then, "You love as a boy — I love as a girl!" It became evident to me that only a traumatic experience could lie at the back of this apprehensive attitude towards the red dress. Corroboration of this assumption came from David's mother, who informed me of the following circumstances: On the occasion of a Purim festival David had once been dressed up in a red dress to meet his and the parents' wish to be a girl. David had been overjoyed that day: the usually depressed, listless boy had been merry and satisfied. But so much the greater had been his disappointment when he had to change back into his old clothes after the festival.

So that was the explanation for the repulsion he showed against the red dress — it reminded him of the greatest disappointment of his life. The above-mentioned association of his ideas at once became clear: "I'm afraid of red; you love as a boy, I love as a girl!" that is — you love *me* as a boy, I love myself as a girl (in the red dress). As a boy he cannot be beloved and happy, because as such he feels himself unwanted and unloved. The knowledge of these connections enabled me fully to understand the aversion against the red dress, whereupon, on the basis of his ideas, which confirmed the trauma, I could interpret him his wish to be a girl. Upon which his aversion against the red dress vanished, and he began including it in his games. One day he also decided to play with the red in his water colours. A part of his fear had evidently been reduced through this interpretation and he became altogether more talkative.

It transpired that red awoke not only an association with the red dress, but also — as was to be expected — with blood. Once he said, "Blue is a colour, red is horrible, is blood".

I now come to his castration complex, the focal point in his neurosis.

David enacted his castration complex in many forms. He cut off the tips of all his crayons, wanted to cut the flow of water from the tap and to break off finger and nose. He cut the hair off the brushes, broke the dolls' arms and legs, threw them out of the window — until one day he pulled out his penis — and really without emotion applied a pair of scissors to cut it off. He imagined all girls to have been boys once and believed them to have been castrated, so that he wanted to perform the castration upon himself in order to be a girl. On the other hand he simultaneously evinced a tendency to come to terms with masculinity by hanging a plasticine penis on his trousers and drawing boys with three legs. And he added "Only bad people have their pipi taken away" that is, those who masturbate.

When he had a tooth drawn he denied it, saying such a thing could never be done to him; he did not get such punishments. But

he nevertheless reverted to self-castration and wanted to throw his genitals out of the window so as to remain without penis, because "Mother loves me only as a girl". Once, full of envy, he remarked "How lucky you are to be a girl!" Only a creature without penis can be good. Whoever has one, like his father and himself, is wicked and not loved. He, though, wants to be like his beloved mother and sister.

The first clear expressions of his Oedipus desires manifested themselves during the second year of treatment, and in this connection renewed and increased castration fears made themselves apparent. Once, when a shoe-lace of his tore he became very excited, cried, screamed and was terribly afraid. He wanted neither a new one nor a mended one; he only wanted the old lace to be whole as it has been. Something terrible had happened, something that could not be remedied. He thought his father had inflicted it upon him, and cried for hours in a dreadful state of excitement, mentioned it many times when with me, until we had again and again analysed his fear of castration. This dread of being castrated by his father showed itself in many forms now — his father would bite him, throw him out of the window, just as he before had wished to do to his penis. His father would want to throw him into the reservoir, as he himself had once wanted to do to his little sister. His fear was also transferred to a blue-stripped towel of mine. All at once he was no longer able to dry himself with it. Blue was his father's colour. At that period he used for weeks to paint small paper boats blue, which I was obliged to fold for him in great quantities. To this father he could not give his hand — his father was wicked, loved him not, wanted to castrate him. If he avoided this blue, wicked father (towel) he was safe, felt free and quiet. I, however, gave him the boats (the penis) which he, by painting them blue, converted into the penis of his father. Did I not fold him any boats he became agitated, furious and unhappy.

I have mentioned above how David found pleasure in identifying himself with a punished comrade (in the case of the one who

had wetted his bed). Here is another example, after he had been under treatment one and a half years: In the garden of my house lay a broken chair. David could see it from the window, and every day when he came for his treatment he was compelled to see whether it was still there or whether it had been taken away. He wanted the chair to be taken up to me, to be with me, too; alternatively to take it with him to the settlement to mend. He identified himself with the chair to which he thought had happened what he himself feared as his punishment: to be cast out, forsaken, broken, maimed.

His fear of punishment, and castration, because of his aggressiveness and Oedipus desires, which became more and more pronounced, was tremendous. Thus, he was afraid not only of the castrating father, but also of animals such as dogs, hens and turkeys. Playing, he identified himself with the dreaded animal and by biting his dolls in the leg overcame his fear of being attacked himself.

Small wonder that this child, who had been destined to sense the ambivalence of his parents from the moment he was born, was dominated by a fear of being forsaken. His father had never really loved him, while of his mother's love he was not sure. He mistrusted his mother because she was often angry with him and let her dissatisfaction with him break through. He loved her greatly and was jealous of everyone with whom she came in contact. Even when he was alone with her he would ask her endlessly, "Mummy, are you here?" if she was occupied with something else or sunk in thought. He was extremely sensitive to her every movement, dreaded her displeasure — yet simultaneously taxed her patience to the utmost. He avenged himself on her for her lack of love and faithlessness.

I have mentioned that a certain nurse, K., had brought David up with great severity. She once came on a visit when he was with his mother in Jerusalem for nine months. This visit mobilised in David all those terrors and fears that he must have experienced when he had as a small child been under her supervision. He received the guest very rudely, was very aggressive towards her and did not tolerate her sitting at one table with him. Towards his mother he was

very angry for her accepting the guest so hospitably. Worst of all, his mother lent K. some of her clothes, so that he renewedly identified his mother, in whom he had during their stay in Jerusalem gained more confidence, with K. A strong regression took place. David again became more inert, sucked much, spoke but slowly and inaudibly, did once more not want to reply, and only shrilled unintelligibly. Everything again became questionable for him and he was mistrustful towards all. He wanted K. to be small as an infant, to make herself dirty and have nobody to clean her. He enacted how he had as a small child been thrown into his bed when disobedient, how he had been mishandled when he had not wanted to eat pudding, and how he had laid himself on his bed, sucking and rocking himself to become calmer. Now he would have taken K.'s food away and be avenged on her but he complained that she was more mighty than either his father or his mother and would surely cause them to illtreat him. He was afraid that his mother would hand him over to K., would not love him, and that he would have to go with her and leave his mother. "She will throw me on my bed again; I am a wicked child!" This nurse K. wore trousers for work in the settlement — a thing he could not stand at all. She was wicked, was no woman; in trousers she was a man, had a penis, was dangerous. Under no condition would he admit that his mother also wore trousers. K. had both genitals, he maintained — a woman she may be, but she also wore trousers so that she was at the same time a man. Now he would castrate her so that she would become good. He once said, "I am afraid K. will kill my mother!" — and K. had in fact actually made his good mother into a severe, castrating one, as already mentioned. And so he was again in the hands of two wicked women, just as he had been once before, at home. He had after all never known a good father. His resistance to his mother influenced also the analysis at this period. He, who had formerly had a very good transference to me, mistrusted even me and manifested castration dread and fear or punishment. His play with dolls was again intensified and he enacted his aggressions on them.

The child's agitation increased constantly as a result of this visit of K.'s, so that I caused her to return early. It was long before David could put his mind at rest again.

David's reaction to any disappointment, especially if caused by his mother, was very strong. He could not bear a refusal and took every prohibition as a sign of lack of love, breaking into a fury at the slightest provocation. He used all the threats his mother had once used, and which as a small child he had regarded as punishment: he would take away her excrement and also her "pipi". He tore the dolls' trousers and threw them out of the window. On his mother he avenged himself preferably by talking stupidly, the more so when she had visitors, because he sensed it would be doubly embarrassing for her; or he would ask things he really knew: "I like asking things I know. It's fun saying the opposite". The sort of thing he remarked was , "that you are a boy, that you can be a man, Alice, is not right!" He wanted me, everything, to be mutable! I were not in order as I was.

Although no periods of deep depression followed his aggressive outbursts as formerly (after his first year's treatment), his sense of guilt still remained very strong. Once, when he had during a frenzy of jealousy broken a few flowerpots, he could not get over it for weeks and constantly referred back to it. He would not believe my repeated assurances that I loved him none the less and endlessly asked me "Am I a good boy? Do you really love me?"

Even though he was not able to play peacefully with other children, because he identified them with his brother and sister of whom he was jealous, they still did exercise an attraction over him. He wanted to go to a kindergarten. We made a trial of it. Yet in the first kindergarten there was a teacher who must have put him in mind of his first nursemaid, K., for he immediately identified himself with any child she shouted at and regarded himself as likewise punished. "R. hides K.; I thought R. would treat me in the same way!"

We placed him in another kindergarten, conducted by a very

understading and motherly woman. In a short while she rendered a surprisingly good account of David's progress (after ten months' treatment). David excelled by a particularly logical mode of thought, and his concentration was good whenever the teacher worked with him alone. He was very jealous, passive in common games, did not take part in open conversation and asked no questions. In his frequent states of depression he would lie down on a bench and rock himself, though getting up after five minutes and going back to his playfellows. His aggressions came in tolerable measure. When other children gave themselves airs he looked away; during gymnastics he would stand stiff and immovable.

The foundations of knowledge were imparted in the kindergarten to children who were to enter school the following year, and David took part in these studies. He made good progress in arithmetic, but his reading and writing were very bad at first. In the common orderly duties of all the children, such as laying the table, he never participated; they seem to have reminded him too much of the hard times he had had in the settlement.

David identified not only his playmates of the kindergarten with his brother and sister, but also a neighbour's child, a small girl a year younger than he, whom he loved immensely. He was jealous of her state as the only child of her parents, but did everything to please her. He would daily ask this little friend, too, "Am I a good boy? Do you love me?" An affirmative soothed him for a while, only to be followed by renewed questions; a negative reply cast him into a state of terrible fury and fear. Ever and again he needed an assurance of her love, worrying her with his constant questioning — and if she did not treat him lovingly or was unfaithful he would avenge himself bitterly.

After one and a half years of treatment David was sent to school. The woman who has supervised him in the kindergarten took over his class, so that he had a good start. But here, too, David was to know disappointments. The teacher, who had now in her large class to handle many pupils and who had to make the same demands

of David as of the others, appeared to him to take on the shape of the exacting nursemaid, K. Here, as often afterwards, the whole complex of his symptoms came back. He became again inert and depressed and behaved baby like. The anal, expressing itself by smearing colours and plasticine everywhere, took on a greater role again. His fear of punishment increased anew. Thus, in order to evade punishment, he denied his aggressions that burst out now and then in class. What he could not bear at all was his teacher becoming angry. He was excessively sensitive, quick to be offended and disappointed. To get even he would not do his homework or not want to go to school, saying he would rather be stupid. "I am a fool; I am a bad boy!" He wanted to be small and foolish, but still to be loved. His teacher was to spoil him and show him her love without demanding anything in return — and it was only when she had declared herself ready to let him take part in lessons without doing his homework that he went back to school again regularly; upon which his attainments increased steadily. He could now also read well, while in arithmetic he outstripped the other children by far. In writing he remained backward. His aversion to drawing, which had its roots in the settlement kindergarten, and his dread of being mocked at for a disability continued to dominate him. He lacked four years practice, years that he was yet to suffer from in many fields for a long time. Notwithstanding his relatively good achievements in school he had not acquired a proper self-assurance yet. His mother, whom I had meanwhile placed in analysis, helped him with his homework. She was less impatient and recognised his progress, but still suffered from his shortcomings above all else. It mortified her to find him attach himself to a debilitated comrade, identify himself with the boy and wish to play with him. David knew exactly that by doing so he would provoke his mother and touch her to the quick. At the same time he yearned for conciliation and companionship with both mother and teacher. He was still not sure enough of her love to be able to chance foregoing it and be one among many. In such a state he inevitably had to encounter

many disappointments. Irrespective of how it was caused, each shock mobilised all his symptoms.

The more his aggressiveness was set free, however, the more did the anal come into prominence. This became evident in his play with plasticine, and by his talk of excrement, until he actually relieved himself and urinated when he was with me in my room. In those days he would smell his fingers compulsively, lie down on the floor and sniff like a dog. "It smells of a - a" he would say. During this period he had also an over-evacuation of the bowels and reacted with a frightful sense of guilt, asking again and again whether he was a good boy. Once he said to me, "You are loved as a girl — I as nothing. I want to remain a little boy; don't want to be a father!" When he was small he could gratify his instinctual desires, was more loved and cherished, didn't have to learn, could speak babyish and be stupid and aggressive; could suck and scream. "A baby is lucky — it doesn't have to answer!" He made a plasticine doll with two heads and said: "the small one belongs to the baby, the big one to the school-boy!" that is to say: as school-boy he has a big penis.

His Oedipus desires, too, became prominent at this juncture. He said, "Father and mother together are two, you and me together are also two!" Then he once stated he wanted to be loved, more than a hundred, and demanded many sweets and presents, endless tokens of love. One evening he asked his mother to give him a lot of bread for supper; he ate it in unusually large quantities. Finally he told her, explaining his behaviour himself: "I don't really want any bread, I only want love!"

In the course of the treatment the pleasure he took in his aggressions became more and more pronounced and his sense of guilt decreased. So, for instance, he once said, after having broken a plate belonging to a neighbour, "If we haven't got any, she doesn't need any, either!" I had once permitted him to burn paper in my room and, happily surprised, he said, "It's horrible when something isn't allowed!" Thus, after two years of treatment, David had periods

when he had fewer aggressions and was without fear, when he did not disavow his evil desires and, above all, could relinquish his dread of punishment.

Whenever David was sure of the love of his mother and had more faith in her, he was calmer in his relations towards her, learned well and made good progress — "because you love me!" But this improved condition of his was still labile and he had, now and again, periods of jealousy, aggression, fear and uncertainty. Then he would relapse and, if not in so strong a degree as before, his symptoms would yet be remobilised.

In his eight month at school (during the third year of treatment) David learned the story of Cain and Abel. This story of hatred between brothers was his very own and it kept him occupied for months. At times he was Cain who had wanted to slay his brother (his own brother, his sister, his friend), then again he was Abel, the younger, who wanted to be beloved and spoiled. But in order not to be slain h e fell upon Cain so that h e remained alive. In such manner did he identify himself with both. His dread of punishment was great, his super-ego stern. "God is right to punish wicked Cain!" he said, expecting punishment himself for his wicked wishes against brother and sister.

He was now to experience another great disappointment from his mother. During a quarrel with his little neighbour the latter's father had threatened to beat him: his mother denied him protection because, she said, he was a naughty boy. His trust in his mother was wholly shaken. Certain events that had occurred in his fifth year had made him all the more receptive for such an eventuality: while still in the settlement kindergarten he had once received a wound on his forehead and his mother had called the resulting scar a "mark of Cain". He was thus already since childhood the branded and punished Cain. Furthermore, when David had had chickenpox the year before his mother had repeated the same remark about the new scars the illness had left on his forehead. So he could not escape being Cain! No wonder that, when David read

this story, and read it he did a score of times daily, he added the epithet "wicked" to the name.

David's psycho-analysis was discontinued after a treatment lasting two and a half years, at an average of five hours a week.

The child had become teachable. He was animated by the desire to be big, big and beloved like his brother, and no longer like his little sister. He now loved not only his mother but also his father, who developed more hearty relations towards his second son when he saw the change. Even though his mother continued to disappoint the boy (her analysis could not be concluded), through his strong transference to me he was nevertheless confirmed in his relationship to women.

He had given up his compulsive neurotic symptoms completely. Outbursts of rage did not recur any more and his aggressions came in normal measure. Notwithstanding these great improvements, the boy was not fully cured when discharged from treatment. He was still very sensitive and took failures very hard. He still suffered from jealously, and the brother-conflict, which had blazed up so fiercely through the story of Cain and Abel, was not quite extinct. If he was shown too little love he would tend to relapse and evince a certain inertness and behave childishly. I nevertheless decided to discontinue the analysis, chiefly on account of the family being threatened with disintegration, disrupted as it had been during the mother's prolonged two and a half years stay in Jerusalem.

David's first school-year surpassed all our expectations. Although he did take a full part in lessons and was dependent on the teacher's help, an unmistakable progress in his development was observable. Only in sports did he fall far behind the others, a fact that was socially detrimental to him from the beginning. Through gymnastic lessons he had received during his last year in Jerusalem he had become relatively much more active, but he could still not compete with the children of the settlement: he could ride neither horse nor bicycle, nor could he play football, climb or swim. After his father had devoted some time to teaching him, David learned to swim in

a relatively short while. For some time this remained the only sport in which he could take part.

His second year in the settlement school passed off much worse than the first. The boy's development came to a standstill and in certain respects he even became regressive. He had frequent periods of depression, could not concentrate on his lessons and exhibited once more such anxiousness of behaviour that his mental absorptive capacity was questioned. The teacher, who had taken some pains to help him during the first year, left him. She was ill for a lengthy time and was herself in a very labile state. Moreover, she was so pained by David's reactions and dissatisfaction that she paid hardly any attention to him. His mother, to whom he had always been very much attached, fell ill at about the same time. Six weeks was she confined to bed and during this period she, too, could not occupy herself with the boy. This proved too much for David, but as soon as the holidays came and his mother could again take care of him a clear improvement in his condition was to be observed.

David is now in his third post-analysis year in the settlement. He has a new, young, teacher. He is still dependent on the help his mother gives him in his lessons. It is interesting, however, that while he has almost attained the general level in all subjects, in English he is ahead of the other children. As is known, Palestinian children have special difficulties in mastering foreign languages, so that it is curious to find that just our David excells therein, and that he also writes relatively well. Intensive gymnastic lessons enabled him not only to catch up with his class mates in many sports but even to surpass them. He has thus become the best ball-player and can also cycle well. Only in racing does he still fall behind the other children.

The two and a half post-analysis years have clearly demonstrated that whenever David is given special attention and help he is able to mobilise more powers than as to be expected. If, on the other hand, he is not shown such marks of love he may regress to a certain extent. In society he is still not quite at his ease. The fear of not

being among the most capable makes him stand shy and expectant aside. He is now jealous to any marked degree only of his elder brother, with whom he lives in close proximity. David belongs to the oldest schoolchildren, among whom his brother holds a prominent place.

SUMMARY.

A synthesis of the case dealt with in this exposition gives us the following picture of its general structure.

The boy was born normal and his development up to the age of one and a half years was orderly. At this age his education in cleanliness was undertaken by a severe, aggressive and presumably compulsive neurotic nursemaid. The child's powers of resistance were not strong enough to withstand the effects of this education. He reacted with compulsive neurotic manifestations such as a compulsion to wash, to be neat. Thus his first fixation formed itself at the anal-sadistic stage. Simultaneously, David reacted with aggressions which were directed mainly against his mother and which found their expression in a gradual stupification.

At the age of three and a half he went through a second experience that affected him traumatically: the birth of his sister. From then onward he became more and more isolated, withdrew totally from the outside world, with which he retained ever less contacts, with the result that he became very lonely. His mental development stopped, and he played his monotonous games all alone and hardly spoke, while his flexibility was reduced to a minimum and his contact with objects became much diminished. He sat vacuously in a corner and took part in nothing. Already at this time he was suspected of debility.

When his mother took him on a trip alone with her at the age of four the first signs of his Oedipus complex became apparent. Till then — after the birth of his sister — the boy had believed that the reason for his mother's greater attention to his sister lay in the fact that she was a girl. He had soon discovered the anatomical sex-

differentiations, and thereafter wanted to be a girl himself: "As a girl I want to be loved." Now, while he was away with his mother, the first stirrings of the wish to be a boy appeared, as did the pride in possessing a penis. At once there developed a conflict between these two tendencies, a wavering in the choice of his own sex. But the time he spent alone with his mother proved too short; he could not bear the disappointment of the return. The result was a renewed regression to the first fixation, — to the anal-sadistic stage.

This regression was now to be accompanied by symptoms of a castration-dread. His disposition towards aggressiveness was thereby fully repressed and directed to a masochistic tendency. His compulsive symptoms were reinforced. The impression he made was one of the total inhabition of his psychical life and of his bodily activity. He did not want to have anything to do with the world: "I don't know anything!" He did not want to perceive the objects of the world around him, he no longer s a w them, and could only passively recognise their colours. He hardly spoke. On the whole, he made the impression that his mental development had undergone a profound regression in the form of debility.

By establishing a positive transference, the treatment succeeded to set in motion the beginnings of a new development. Not before the boy was by means of the treatment able to overcome the stagnation in the development of his libido, and not before he was again able to cultivate object-relationships did he experience the Oedipus complex with the consequent development of his ego.

This development came four years late. It was only when he was seven that the first signs of an Oedipus complex appeared — an interest in the female genitals, the high prizing of his own penis and the first identifications with his own father. The retardation in his psychic development was thereby quickly made up for.

There can hardly be a doubt that if not for the analysis the boy would have had to give up the small rest of his relationship towards the objects of the outside world and that he would have become totally imbecile.

5 Years Psycho-analytical Educational Work among Jewish Youth Immigrants

by

Josef Friedjung

Haifa

I.

It was about Eastertide in the year 1939 that I first met Miss Henrietta Szold, through the kind offices of Dr. Eitingon. The interest taken by Miss Szold in my psycho-analytical views on youth and in particular on sexual education soon bore fruit: As a result of the constructive criticism I offered of the harmful situation reigning at the time I was as a first step permitted to hold a series of ten lectures on the psychological and pedagogical problems of puberty. These lectures, which were integrated in a well prepared course for youth leaders, were in all cases followed by valuable discussions. With the success of this first experiment, I was in April 1940 contractually engaged by the Youth Immigration Bureau. My duties were three days a week to visit local youth groups organised and maintained by the Youth Aliya, to introduce the youth leaders to the problems of sexual education in puberty, to advise them and also to assist in difficult cases. On each such visit I had to render the Bureau a detailed account. Once a week, on my "reception day", the youth leaders were able to consult me and place their problem cases before me. A few figures will give an idea of the scope of these activities in which I was engaged up to July, 1945. During these five and a quarter years I rendered account on 423 visits, comprising

8265 boys and 5584 girls of between 14 and 18. Many were above this age, and although in general there were few below 14, a number of institutes catered in the main for younger children. Within the framework of these activities I had personal and intimate talks with 1394 boys and 897 girls, or with 2291 young people in all. Owing to the lamentable only too frequent changes of youth leaders I will have advised some 4—500 of both sexes.

When Miss Szold charged me with this educational work she had in mind that I occupy myself rather with the leaders than the youth themselves. Thus, it was intended that my activities be confined to acquainting the youth leaders with my views on sexual education in puberty and introducing them to the methods of this important field. I was also to assist them to overcome obstacles and send the Bureau accounts of my observations and impressions. For myself, while I did not believe that a mere supplementation of defective knowledge was all that would be required, I yet approached my tasks quite unprejudiced. I was, indeed, no newcomer to the communal and small-holders' settlements, as I had already become acquainted with quite a number of them during my visits as travelling teacher and ideological sympathiser. I was soon to discover that at the outset I was beset by a variety of illusions, so that I was not spared numerous hardships, some unexpected, other that I had not taken seriously enough. I could not escape even certain disillusionments. Miss Szold's expressions of astonishment at such disappointments I countered with an apt saying of Freud's, made in the year of war 1918, "In our moral make-up we lived above our circumstances".

The youth leaders with whom I came in contact were naturally of the most diverse types: Men and women of ages ranging from a bare 20 to 50 years and above; people with comprehensive education to simple farm-hands; single, married, divorced, pregnant, paternal, motherly, or dryly matter-of-fact; understanding towards youth or averse; sickly or healthy; pedagogically and psychologically talented, or at least with some initial training, to crassly ignorant

of these problems and often even of questionable suitability owing to defects of character; harmonic or neurotic; ideologically bigotted to innerly unencumbered; with religious ties, whether adhering to tradition or not, to consciously dissenting; willing to carry out their responsible work, to complete unwillingness, due to either exhaustion or aversion. A consideration of this situation alone led to the expectation that my work might be more complicated than appeared at the outset. In addition there came the multifarious attitudes towards myself and my mission. There were some that knew me and welcomed my role as progressive; these readily accepted my assistance. Others there were who regarded my message as annoying interference, who even refused my help as presumptive intrusion, and studiously disregarded the day of my coming. Between these there was every imaginable shade of resistance. Some were convinced they had to disregard me for religious considerations, others again offered me their individual psychological creed. Some even respected Freud the master, but would nevertheless by none of his teachings alter their accepted pedagogical viewpoints. Of these demi-heroes I met indeed many. Furthermore, in consequence of my age I came as indisputable father imago into the province of all these men and women. This exercised once an obstructive then again a beneficial influence on my authoritatively prepared visits. For years already numbers of youthful immigrants had been taken care of by Miss Szold's Bureau, so that, even if there could be no tradition yet, there was already to be noticed an attitude of justifiable narcissism on the part of the active leaders: "Till now we have done our work without such help and not without success — admittedly we encountered some difficult situations and made not a few blunders — so why all of a sudden such an authoritative harness? Our activities are placed in a peculiar sphere known to us and they must adapt themselves to it. Does this elderly newcomer have any experiences that may be turned to good account for us?" Such, I was soon to observe, were the auspices when I started. The small interest displayed all through is probably to be interpreted similarly.

II.

Already during my first visits it became clear to me that if I did not contact also the sheltered youth my work with their leaders would be built on sand and condemned to failure. The youth leaders, even those of a single group, comprising one man and two women, or two men and one woman, had no uniform notion of the aims and methods of sex education. One of them usually had more self-assurance than the others so that his views became the accepted ones in the particular group. This self-assurance was, in general, but weakly founded and hardly able to hold its ground against serious criticism. It ranged from approval of complete sexual freedom for the youth, with tolerated use of an official local stock of preventatives, to the demand for strictest asceticism, even on the part of the three leaders of the group. The reigning "ideologies" in this sphere were in the main nothing but personal opinions, often enough neurotically founded. On the whole the attitude of the leaders was unsuited to provide the youth with clear and precise pointers. Where the youth was concerned, the whole field of sexual education was seldom and then only superficially touched upon — usually, in fact, it was anxiously avoided, even in communal settlements otherwise based on revolutionary concepts. Intimate conversations between two persons were rarely indulged in, nor were they asked for by the boys and girls. The few talks of this nature attempted by educators generally satisfied neither party. Half-concealed or open "relations", sometimes introduced by the immigrant youth on their arrival, were generally known of; the same goes for obscure and inhibited erotic play; but of the function of masturbation little was known. Planned talks and discussions on sexual problems were hardly ever undertaken by the leaders and only few of the group physicians took much interest in this vital problem, and then only in a hesitant manner. The excuse for this neglect was always that there had been other and important tasks to be seen to at the beginning and there had been no time yet for these problems. Later on, in about 1942, with the

arrival of immigrants from Hungary, the Balkans and even from the Near East it was moreover the language barrier that blocked the way of the allegedly intended activity of the leaders in the field of sexual education. My conversations with the leaders and their educational committees were not at all easy at first. I had gradually to win their confidence and make them understand, each according to his own peculiarities, to grasp their own doubts and obstacles, to allay their prejudices, and not seldom in intimate chats to treat their own neuroses, even schizophrenia. I soon appreciated the fact that I would have to start from first principles after having demolished erroneous conceptions and obstructive bias. My constantly renewed plea for activity in this so neglected field of sexual education was appreciated and even accepted by practically all, but in most cases was rapidly delegated to oblivion. Nearly everywhere was I heartily and sincerely thanked for my detailed explanations of the various tasks and their execution and for my recommendations or critical rejections of literature — but in the carrying out of my precepts little pleasure was afforded me. It was quite impressive to experience how soon a successful transference to me was brushed away during the initial period: striking enthusiasm right up to my departure, but already after a week or two ambivalence breaking through; in one case the third week had not yet passed before a youth leader expressed herself in these words, "What good has he done us by his visit? All he did was to encourage our youth to practice self-abuse". Only gradually, after repeated visits and by displaying a consistently benevolent attitude even when confronted with censure, did an appreciable positive transference to me crystallise. I had much cause for relative satisfaction at the success of my mission. A number of leaders of both sexes developed before my eyes into excellent and active sex-pedagogues conscious of their aims. The greatest obstacle in this connection was the constant replacement of youth leaders, the destructive effect of which was too little taken into consideration by those responsible for the groups.

III.

Already on my third visit on behalf of the Bureau I was compelled to go beyond the bounds set. The leaders, now shaken out of their thoughtless lethargy into activity, entreated me to show them how one could talk about and even discuss such a delicate subject with the youth. Being unable to deny their request, I thereupon addressed 25 boys and 15 girls of 16—18 years old on the sexual problems of youth. The alertness and subsequent sincere discussion proved to us how welcome this confidential talk was for the youth. Though it was already late at night and I was to depart on the morrow, at 11 o'clock a 17 year old girl came to seek me: Everyone was enthusiastic, she said, at the same time requesting a private hearing. I learned many things the leaders were not aware of.

It thus became clear to me after a few informative visits that our programme had taken too little account of the given psychological factors: the leaders were not at all so willing as we had imagined to accept and follow my carefully reasoned advice, the relations of mutual confidence between them and the youth were seldom sought and secured, particularly as regards sexual instincts. The leaders were not intimately acquainted with the inner and sexual life of the young people entrusted to their care. The latter were not used to consult reliable adults concerning their doubts and difficulties, nor ask their advice. Still less were they accustomed to test and clarify them in general conversations under the guidance of older and well-meaning friends; they had hitherto gone their own way without advice. How was I to master these difficulties that stalled our purposes? Moreover, the communal and small-holders' settlements and the groups had to be taken as realities of the given framework, more or less inert, stubbornly resistant to external stimuli, and even if they were wrong, the more tenaciously sworn to the innovations of yesterday. And, as in Palestine people often have a hard and heroic pioneering period behind them, a "pseudo-revolutionary conservatism" met us at every step, holding also the youth leaders in its

grip. What was good enough 20—25 years ago may not be upset by some self-conceited know-all. It was not easy patiently and unconfusedly to combat all this for the most part hardly conscious resistance with never flagging good intentions, in order finally to succeed. Indeed a peculiar attempt at psycho-analytical re-education on a large scale!

Gradually I worked out the following lines of action: The youth leader must not expect his charge to approach him and confide in him regarding their sexual qualms and needs. The youth are mistrustful and silent towards adults — they have good reason to be so. To tear this barrier down a youth leader must in the first place unmistakably demonstrate to his much disappointed charge that he is made of different stuff than the general run of educators. Experience shows that this is soonest accomplished by a frank and unrestrained talk on the problems of youth, with a good measure of humane understanding and far removed from the habitual moralising of most adults. The result is a rapid transference: not only does it enmesh the mind but also the heart of the young. The way is open to beneficial and intimate talks. When I began my activities I was time and again assured that these oyster-like young people were impervious to discussion in such matters. I can definitely state that in all the many groups I have guided I have never experienced this. They are always ready to accept advice and we may at no time frustrate this eagerness. A direct consequence was the desire of each of them, boy as girl, for a personal talk with the lecturer, if only the leader did not intentionally avoid it. The flood of such applications was frequently hard to satisfy. In a certain non-coeducational institute I once had 47 applications. I had to explain to these devoted educators that it was not so much gratifying to me as shameful for them. Guests should not be permitted attendance at such lectures, which are designed to unlock the heart. They form an undesirable obstacle to the purpose.

In such private talks I learned of facts, anxieties, doubts and difficulties that the leaders were unaware of. Only thus could I ap-

proach gross abnormal types which had not escaped them either and thus be in a position to give them authoritative advice. Furthermore, the persons of physician and educational adviser being combined in me, I could frequently help the local doctors and so ease the youth leaders' work. Thus in the course of time activities in the local groups I visited took on a typical shape, somewhat as follows:

a) Informative consultation with the youth leaders about their work and group, very profitable didactically in important matters like masturbation and its evaluation.

b) Opportunity for discussion with the youth after a lecture, the subject of which was either proposed by the leaders or recommended by me on the basis of information supplied by them. A basis for discussion particularly frequently desired was "We and our Instincts". At the same time they would often become more closely acquainted with Freud's works.

c) A rapid transference was nearly always betrayed by the demand for individual consultation. As was mentioned in the opening section of this review, the number of these consultations reached thousands. A strong resistance on the part of the leaders was frequently betrayed by inadequate reporting, at times even direct sabotage, of these applications.

d) Final consultation with the leaders concerning all that had occurred, slight criticism where necessary, and encouraging praise whenever possible. Planning of future work, recommendation of relevant literature. The experiences of individual talks were discreetly made use of.

IV.

A few words now about the individual consultations. From the outset I had to impress upon the leaders that such talks could be held only on a voluntary basis. Since a positive transference is a prerequisite the youth cannot be forced thereto. Now and then one would of course meet pedagogically difficult cases whose educational

antecedents caused them to reject a personal talk. These the leader would have to master by kindness. Enough was done by the adviser if he showed himself to the youngsters in a sympathetic and understanding light.

When I embarked upon my tasks I was aware from previous tours that sexual education had been and was also then but rarely undertaken. One of the matter-of-course questions I put before the leaders was, "How about masturbation, especially with the boys?" The educators seldom knew the position, but individual boys were at times pointed out, with obvious deprecatoriness, as self-confessedly practising self-abuse. As was to be expected, a few visits sufficed to supply ample proof that this form of instinctual gratification was all but universal. I put the figure at 96 percent of the boys. The use thereof, however, was in most cases bound up with fear, and during the first three terms it was my most pressing function to allay this serious apprehension. It was necessary time and again to teach the leaders and soothe the young people who had become neurotic. It must not be overlooked that whatever tranquilisation follows a private talk does not last long, the castration fear linked with masturbation being too deeply rooted to yield to a brief clarification. The fear is is ever returning and its infantile roots must always be extirpated afresh. This gives the leaders a new task, hitherto overlooked; but they must be equal to it, for they themselves had been victims of the same educational errors.

With the girls in the groups entrusted to me this factor played but a minor role. All the greater among the troubles they brought before me was the importance they attached to the formation of love-ties. The leaders favoured and even desired the formation of couples in their groups without, however, giving the youth to understand what exactly they were then to do. The boy is naturally not satisfied with mere "friendship" for long and demands more. The girl, who often has strong inhibitions herself, continually poses the question what she is to do under the circumstances. Extremely frequent, to my experience, were cases of semi-virginity, as first decribed by Marcel

Prévost. As the boy is lead to ejaculation and gratification by this process the contrast of the girl gaining no satisfaction is all the greater, with only too well understandable neurotic consequences. There were not many love-ties altogether devoid of inhibitions. Boys complained of unsuccessful love more frequently than girls, as was only to be expected since they were more numerous. Not seldom confusion was wrought in a group by Don Juan types of both sexes (or shall we call girls of that tendency "Messalina" types?). Of course such young people as were handicapped by nature, whether ugly, misshapen, or maimed, too tall or too small, too fat or thin, ginger-headed or those belatedly maturing, all these, and others, could generally not escape their hard fate. What I very rarely met with was the courtesan type.

Cases of perversion did not occur much, to my experience, but on the other hand inversion played a role of some importance among immigrants from South Eastern Europe. In the main, however, this was apparently overcome without particular difficulties. Painful conflicts occurred where boys from Roumania and Hungary were concerned, due to the fact that most of them had been accustomed to prostitution and were now warding off the sexual abstinence that was here forced upon them. In the parts from which they originated masturbation was taboo, while prostitution from puberty was regarded as a matter of course by fathers and most doctors alike. The excessive aggressiveness which these boys displayed towards any girls they came in contact with was quite a problem. A variety of difficulties arose out of the earlier advent of puberty and physical development of the girls. Pretty ones often attracted maturer young men. Whenever this interest was returned and more serious relations developed the more boyish youngsters often became aggressively jealous, claiming priority rights and even demanding the expulsion of the "sinners". Sometimes the sexes were actually split into two hostile camps.

A cause for some concern were the relations of the boys and girls to their distant parents as well as to their leaders on the spot, re-

garding which they were always unburdening themselves before me. Love, aversion bordering on hate, and jealousy all made life burdensome for these young people. It was of interest to observe what very disrupting jealousy was aroused whenever a favourite leader became pregnant. Such cases were often followed by group jealousy with undesirable pedagogical consequences. Analogous to the phenomena in family life, this jealousy was frequently transferred to the newborn child.

Disturbances in our work among the youth, so easily awakened by these transference relationships, made it pertinent to consider the family status of the leaders. As imagos they are most valuable when they initially act for father and mother. The more preferable therefore are married ones with at least one child of their own, who are good-natured, superior, and of fatherly or motherly disposition. It is best if nothing is changed in the family status and an example of a perfect marriage is given. After the first year the most desirable relationship is that of a comradely elder brother or sister. Young unmarried people, particularly if of pleasing appearance, frequently get into difficult situations, not only with the youth but even with themselves.

A word about the environments of the groups. The great influence of the surrounding reality on the nature and development of the group must always be taken into account in our work. Sexual education does not take place in an empty space. As a doctor once remarked at a discussion in one of the settlements, and justifiably so, "How can we have two systems of education running side by side in a single settlement? — a well-thought out one for the refugee children from Poland and Russia, and a second, neglected one, for the native children of the settlement". In practice this is of course impossible, and appears to be a stumbling block to our endeavours. The contradiction can be resolved only by impregnating the leaders with our grasp of the matters, and making them pioneers in our criticism.

It was hard having to hear young people, especially from Czecho-

slovakia, say, "We came with ideals, but our environments have destroyed them. We want to serve ideals — give them back to us!" These conditions made it necessary to go beyond the bounds of the youth groups themselves and occasionally to address the plenum of the settlement on sexual education and the ethics of love-life.

These were years packed with work, years of pioneering activity not without their disappointments. And yet I am convinced that all who love this land and its children are deeply indebted to Miss Szold and her adviser, Dr. Max Eitingon, for their optimistic intentions.

Translated by David S. Pinsky

The first decade of the Palestine Institute for Psycho-analysis (Max Eitingon Institute) 1934—1944

by

Margarete Brandt

Jerusalem

In 1941, on the occasion of Dr. Eitingon's sixtieth birthday, the members of the Palestine Institute for Psycho-analysis were able to give the founder of their Institute the pleasure of hearing a report on the activities of the first seven years of its existence. The account then presented to Dr. Eitingon was intended to assure him that, notwithstanding the destruction of his Berlin Institute by the Nazis, work was continuing for the realisation of his vision of transforming Freud's stimuli at the 1918 Budapest Congress into reality. Even though the amount of work performed was quantitatively more modest than that accomplished in Berlin, Dr. Eitingon was yet delighted to recognise just how important for Palestine was the work already performed, and how unerring his conception of the tasks of the Psycho-analytical Institute had proved to be. While in Berlin the debatable point had been the practicability of policlinical treatment and the endeavour to find the best methods to train young analysts, here in Palestine the problem of neurosis prevention came ever more to the fore. It was always specially pleasing for Dr. Eitingon when former patients came to him to tell how they turned the knowledge gained by their analyses to good account in practice, in "Kinderhaus" and at school. It transpired that the communal settlements sent not only their most difficult and unbearable neurotic

cases for treatment, but in particular also pedagogically talented persons, even if they had no grave disturbances at all. After analysis these individuals were, in addition to their being the better able to cope with educational difficulties, also more capable than the non-analysed effectively to apply the results of consultation and advice to problematical cases. Dr. Eitingon had this group especially at heart, so much so that he used a special phrase when he saw their names on the waiting list: "Deal with him quickly, he really deserves it".

The hours of reception which he held regularly at the Institute were a pleasurable duty for him, and neither illness nor the worst of Hamsins (desert winds) could deter him from coming to the Institute. Even in his last months, when his physicians were warning him against going out, he grasped every opportunity to come for at least a short while to the Institute, to hear what was going on and to converse with old and new patients. Many of them got from him during such first interviews essential explanations that were to exercise a positive influence over the whole analysis. Many felt the need to go to Dr. Eitingon, at times when they had improved to acquaint him with their progress; they all had unshakable confidence in his impartial verdicts in cases where difficult situations arose between patient and analyst. For every one did he have time, in all did he display interest, retaining full details in his mind. Practical assistance to a large number of patients was likewise rendered by Dr. Eitingon, in the form of obtaining for them employment, opportunities to recuperate, money, or suitably interceding in certain quarters in their favour. His patients had boundless confidence in his capabilities—a confidence gained by good experience, for they were but rarely disappointed.

In the first ten years of its existence the Institute treated 232 cases, all of which were women and 121 men.

The patients came from all strata of the population and the most varied parts of the country. Only a very small fraction had been sent by physicians, the majority coming upon the advice of former patients.

The number of patients treated was as follows, by years:

1934	4	1940	19	
1935	16	1941	34	
1936	17	1942	27	
1937	18	1943	30	
1938	28	1944	20	(up to 1.9.44)
1939	19			

making a total of 232. These fall into the following groups:

Obsessional Neurosis & Compulsive Character	53
Hysteria & Hysterical Character	40
Neurotical Depression	13
Manic-Depressive State	9
Cleptomania	6
Neglect	7
Bronchial Asthma	4
Inhibition to Work or Study	14
Masochism	15
Psychopathy	3
Infantilism	11
Disturbances of Speech	5
Paranoia	7
Disturbances of Potency	7
Frigidity	3
Schizophrenia	9
Fetishism	1
Erythrophobia	2
Homosexuality	5
Enuresis	4
Mixed States	10
Epilepsy	1
Training	3
	232

and in the result

	31	cases	were	cured
	83	„	„	improved
	29	„	„	broken off
	39	„	„	uninfluenced
while	44	„	„	still current in September 1944.

Those marked "improved" were for the most part symptom cured patients who are to be regarded as cured in effect, but who by our theoretical standards are not to be registered as cured. The relatively large number of cases that were broken off is to be explained in part by the fact that many patients were called up for military service, it having been only in exceptional cases that the Institute intervened requesting exception. Furthermore, a number of patients with modest incomes were obliged to leave Jerusalem and discontinue their analysis, better opportunities for finding work having presented themselves elsewhere. Several had in the first place received only limited leave to come to Jerusalem.

Five probationers, among whom is one physician, carry out control analyses.

In addition to therapeutic work, on which the main emphasis is laid, steadily increasing importance is being attached to didactic work. A number of workers at the Institute, Drs. Brandt, Dreyfuss, Gumbel, Hirsch and Lowtzki, held lectures based on Freud's writings and delivered to diverse audiences, such as to welfare workers, students, and kindergarten and school teachers. Of greatest practical value was the tuition of the group under Dr. Lowtzki's guidance, its thirty-six participants being school and kindergarten teachers, youth leaders, "Heilpädagogen", and school physicians. These activities found a strong echo among health, welfare and educational bodies.

When an organ, published by Dr. Brachiyahu under the name of "Hygiena Ruhanith" (Psychic Hygiene) was founded, all members of the Psycho-analytical Association were called upon to support it, several cooperating on the editorial. Psycho-analytical pedagogy is

allotted a substantial space within the framework of this paper, with the object of imbuing pedagogical circles with psycho-analytical modes of thought.

To sum up the activities of the Palestine Psycho-analytical Institute one is tempted to quote a passage of Freud's introduction to the Report of the Berlin Institute on its first ten years. The excerpt is applicable to our circumstances as it stands:

"Such an Institute was indispensable. It would have been vain to wait for State assistance or University interest. The energy and self-sacrifice of one single analyst stepped in at this juncture. Ten years ago Dr. Max Eitingon founded such an institute with his own means, and has ever since maintained it and by his own endeavours directed it. The Report does homage to its founder and director, and attempts publicly to express gratitude to him. Whosoever has a part in any form of analysis will add his voice to these thanks".

And two further relevant passages, this time extracted from Simmel's History of the Berlin Institute:

"A more embracing social-hygienic effect the Institute will only then be able to have when the most competent organisation, the Sick Fund, will combine with the Institute and allow its members to undergo psycho-analytical treatment. The continued situation wherein our Policlinic treats contributors to health-insurance without remuneration, that is, on account of the members of the Psycho-analytical Association themselves, cannot go on for ever.

"The necessity for such treatment has become so widely acknowledged that the members will shortly demand analysis regardless of those Sick Fund executives who still maintain that their organisations cannot take over psycho-analytical treatment, if only for financial reasons. At present members of the Sick Funds have still to entreat psycho-analytical treatment as a semi-favour, as it were. Some of them who are registered on the long

waiting list of our Institute often forfeit some of the most important decisions of their lives because timely psycho-analytical help was not available. All these will, in the not distant future, have confidence only in such physicians as are able to prescribe a suitable treatment also for their psychic ailments."

"And herein lies the great social merit of Max Eitingon, for it is after all he who, through never tiring application, has not only maintained but even constantly expanded the Policlinec — the more so as this was accomplished in the face of the hardships of all these years of political confusion and economic crises, at a time when even governmental and municipal health measures had to be reduced in scope because of the necessity to economise."

Dr. Eitingon died on the 30th July, 1943. The loss for the Institute is irreparable. We, his fellow workers, are certain that we are acting in his spirit when we persist in the course of this Institute that bears his name and endeavour to realise the plans he made for its further development.

Translated by David S. Pinsky

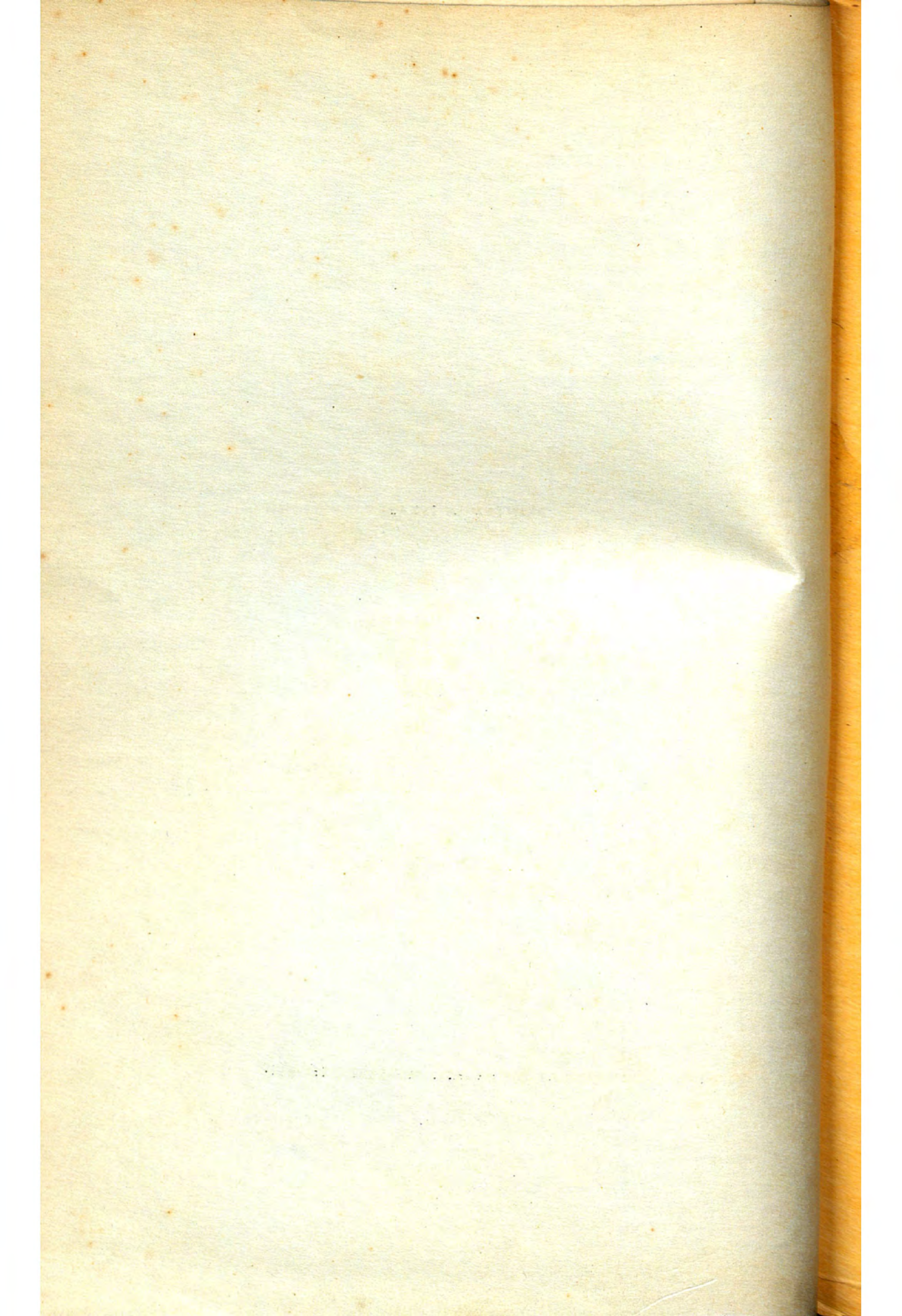
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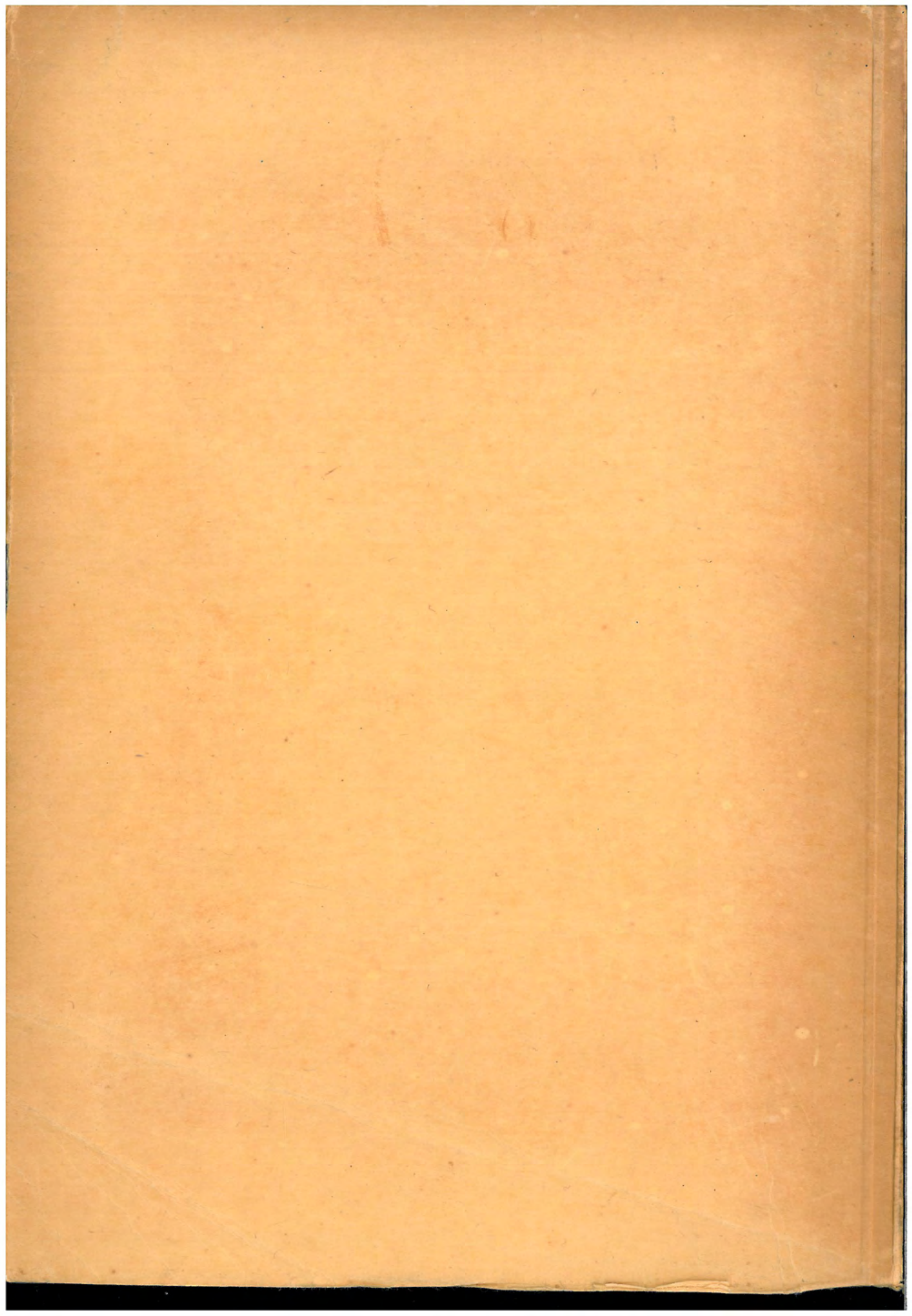
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